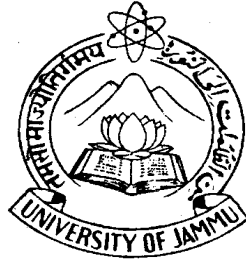


SOCIO-POLITICAL LIFE OF IRANIS AND TURANIS IN MUGHAL INDIA (1526-1707)



THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY

Submitted By:
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CERTIFICATE

It is hereby certified that ANJU RANI, Ph.D Scholar in the Department of History, has worked for the Ph.D Degree, under my supervision on the topic, “Socio-Political Life of Iranis and Turanis in Mughal India (1526-1707).” She has fulfilled the entire statutory requirements for the submission of the Thesis for evaluation.

I hereby certify that :-

1. The thesis embodies the work of the candidate herself.
2. The candidate worked under me for the period required under self status of the University of Jammu, Jammu.
3. The candidate had put it the required attendance in the Department during the period of her research.
4. The conduct of the candidate remains satisfactory during her research in the department.
5. I recommend that work is worthy of consideration for the award of Doctorate of Philosophy in History.

**Professor Jigar Mohammed
Supervisor**

**Professor Shailendra Singh Jamwal
Head of the Department**

PREFACE

Several works have been made on the history of administrative institutions, nobles and territorial expansion of the Mughal Empire. It has largely been shown by these books about the policies of the Mughal Empire. The present study has worked on the Iranis and Turanis working in the Mughal Empire in diverse capacities. The Iranis and Turanis perception of India and their space in it are highlighted in accordance with their areas of settlement and responsibilities given to them by the Mughal emperors. Their multiple identities such as nobles, poets, scholars, physicians, musicians, architects, horticulturists, calligraphers, traders etc. are studied according to the mention of contemporary sources. Since Iranis and Turanis migration was increased during the Mughal period, their place of migration is shown period wise under reign of various Mughal emperors.

The present study is very much concerned with the Iranis and Turanis interaction with Indian culture and their contribution to the making of Mughal Empire inclusively. Though the institution of Nobility has been studied by some modern historians, the multiple images of the Iranis and Turanis are hardly the concern of the existing modern works. The present study has tried to show the multi-images of these Iranis and Turanis.

In the preparation of this thesis, I have received general assistance from my teachers and friends for which I am deeply beholden to them. First of all, it gives me utmost pleasure and I feel it my moral duty to express my deep sense of gratitude to my teacher and supervisor Professor Jigar Mohammed for his patience, motivation, continuous support and guidance throughout the course of this work. Without his valuable suggestions, immense knowledge and scholarly approach, it would not have been possible for me to accomplish the assigned study.

I am greatly obliged to Professor Shailendra Singh Jamwal (Head of Department), Professor Suman Jamwal, Dr. Sharda Sharma, Dr. Shyam Narayan Lal, Dr. Madhulika Singh, Dr. Tirath Raj Bhoi, Dr. Varsha Gupta and Dr. Anu Mankotia for their valuable suggestions and cooperation.

I must acknowledge my profound and sincere thanks to the Indian Council of Historical Research for providing me the Junior Research Fellowship for pursuing this research.

I would also like to put on record my gratitude to the helpful staff of various libraries mainly Nehru Museum and Library, Teen Murti, Delhi; ICHR library; library of Jamia Millia Islamia; Jamia Hamdard library, Delhi; Dhanvantri library and the library of History department, University of Jammu.

I express my sincere thanks to all the non-teaching staff members of the Post-Graduate Department of History, University of Jammu for their cooperation, constant help and encouragement during the study.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to my friends and all the Ph.d scholars of the department of history for their help of various nature during my research work.

Finally, I must acknowledge my deep gratitude to my parents, brother, sisters and my husband for supporting me spiritually throughout the writing of this thesis and motivating and influencing my life in general.

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INTRODUCTION

Since ancient period, India has been a favourable place for adventurers and fortune seekers of different lands. Among these foreign adventurers, Iranis and Turanis have come to India as scholars, saints, soldiers, conquerors, administrators, adventurers and founders of principalities during successive periods of Indian history from 6th century B.C to 7th century A.D. However, during the medieval period, due to the unstable political conditions in Iran and Central Asia, Iranis and Turanis immigration to India increased on a large scale. In the court of Delhi Sultans, there was preponderant influence of Turkic and Tajik elements and the best manifestation of this is Amir Khusrau, who was Turk by descent. Mughals, who themselves came from the land of Central Asia, when came to India, they were accompanied by large number of Turanis and Iranis. Turani was a term applied to any person coming from Central Asia, where the Turkish language was spoken and Iranis comprised the Persian speaking people from Herat up to Baghdad i.e. the inhabitants of the whole of the present day Persia and the Persian speaking parts of Afghanistan and Iraq.

The Mughal Emperors in India, followed a policy of huge territorial expansion and making an empire with diverse cultural identities. They followed the concept of cultural synthesis i.e. Indo-Persian culture, as a result of which Iranis and Turanis, the Persian speaking people, found an opportunity to migrate to India and adjust in Indo-Persian culture of the Mughal Empire. The Iranis and Turanis arrival in Mughal Empire became a regular feature till Aurangzeb's period. They worked in the Mughal Empire in various positions. The contemporary sources mention that as nobles, literary persons, artists, physicians, merchants and Sufis, they made their image in different parts of the Mughal Empire. To study their multiple images in terms of their socio-political life, the present study is divided into five chapters.

1. Iranis and Turanis settlements In India
2. Nature of Iranis and Turanis population in India
3. Iranis and Turanis in the political system of Mughal India
4. Social mingling of Iranis and Turanis with Indian society
5. Role of Iranis and Turanis in the socio-economic life of India.

The present topic is significant as it increases the scope of medieval Indian history by providing us an insight into the political as well as socio-cultural aspects of the institution of Mughal nobility of which Iranis and Turanis were the most important part. The study of Iranis and Turanis in Mughal India is important because the Mughal empire's cultural and administrative growth were mostly carried on by these nobles with the instruction of the Emperor and even their own authority was revolving around the patronage they secured from the Mughal Emperor.

The first chapter is an attempt to do an in depth study on the various aspects of their settlements in India. This chapter starts with a brief account of the pattern of immigration of these Iranis and Turanis towards India under successive Mughal Emperors. It focuses that why under early Mughal emperors, we do not find many instances of their settlements in India but eventually as the Mughal foothold became strong in India, more and more Iranis came and settled in various regions of India. They not only governed these regions, but their social relations with people of those areas and their activities in terms of economic and social life in these settled regions are also discussed in detail in this chapter.

The second chapter deals with the nature of population of these Iranis and Turanis in India, which was heterogeneous. It consists of nobles, poets, *sufis*, scholars, *darvishes*, traders, artists, musicians, painters, calligraphers, horticulturists. It covers the areas from where they came, the individual reasons for their coming, patronage they received by the Mughal Emperor, nobles as well as the general masses and their contribution towards the Mughal India.

The third chapter deals with Iranis and Turanis in the Political System of Mughal India. It covers the names of Irani and Turani nobles who assisted Babur in his thick and thin, how they accompanied him on his march towards north India and the excessive opportunism and adventurism shown by the Turani nobles of Humayun. The immigration of more Iranis during the exile period of Humayun and the eventual absorption of Iranis and Turanis in the Mughal nobility under successive Mughal Emperors has also been discussed. It also throws light on their appointment in Central administration, awards of

mansabs and titles to them as some among them enjoyed the highest *mansabs* and high-sounding titles. It also deals with the numerous acts of rebellion committed by them as well as their role in augmenting the relations with Persia and Central Asia.

In the fourth chapter, an attempt has been made to study the process of social mingling of Iranis and Turanis with Indian society. It shows how they accepted the changes in India in terms of social life and accepted them. It also covers that how by their participation, they influenced the Indian education and umpteen measures taken by them to improve the Indian agriculture. Their relations with the local tribes and *Zamindars* helped their integration with the Mughal Empire. It also studies the Cultural relations established by the Iranis and Turanis with people of Indian background playing a great role in enriching the Indo-Persian culture of Mughal India. Their matrimonial alliances with the Mughal emperors as well as with the other sections of nobility to legitimise their position are also dealt in detail through this chapter.

The fifth chapter discusses the role played by Iranis and Turanis in the socio-economic life of India. It covers their standard of living in India and what were the major factors influencing it. Their use of socio-economic influence to rise in the political hierarchy is also an important aspect, dealt in detail in this chapter. In India, they engaged themselves in numerous acts of public welfare and the best manifestation of this can be seen in the buildings of public utility created by them. Besides, they also provided patronage to many scholars and poets of India as well as of outside, all of which are discussed in this chapter.

For the present study, both the contemporary and Modern works are extensively utilized. The primary sources such as *Baburnama*, *Humayun nama*, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* gives a detailed account of various Iranis and Turanis who accompanied early Mughals emperors in conquering Northern India. *Humayun nama* and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* are of special interest to my topic as these works give a detailed account of exile period of Humayun, during which he took the shelter in the court of Shah Tahmasp as result of which many Iranis

joined him. The contemporary works dealing with the reign of successive Mughal Emperors such as *Akbar nama*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Shah Jahan nama*, *Padshah nama*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* gives a vivid account of various Iranis and Turanis who came during their reign as well their political life in India. The biographical works such as *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Zakhirat ul Khwannin*, *Maasir ul umara* are of special interest for the period under review as they provide ample information not only on the political life of Iranis and Turanis, but also sheds light on their social and economic life in India. The account of foreign travellers like Father Monserrate, Thomas Roe and Hawkins, Tavenier, Bernier, Manucci, Palsart as well as the English factories records are also extensively utilized for the period under review as they are important to understand the European perception and also throw flood of light on their social life and the economic activities pursued by Iranis and Turanis in Mughal India.

Among the Modern works, the most prominent is the work of M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility 1574-1658, published in 1985*. This book provides us statistical information about the name as well as the titles of various Iranis and Turanis, their *Zat* and *Sawar* ranks, their appointment as well as the year of their death, all of which are of immense help to my topic of research. He writes that the Mughals followed the policy of giving *mansabs* to persons who either themselves held office in the Safavid and Uzbek empires or were sons or kinsmen of such officials. The bulk of Persian (Irani, Iraqi, Khurasani) and Central Asian (Turani) immigrants belonged to this category. Athar Ali, has given in very detail, the name of various Iranis and Turanis who were appointed as *Wakil*, *Diwan or Wazir*, *Mir Bakhshi*, *Mir Saman*, *Saddr us Sudur* from 1573-74 up to the time of Aurangzeb. He also explicitly mentions the names of various Iranis and Turanis who were appointed as provincial governors of Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Allahabad, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, Kashmir, Kabul, Multan and other *subas* under the Mughal rulers. However, the author is silent regarding the Iranis and Turanis under early Mughal emperors. Their social life and their social and economic contributions towards Mughal India which the author skipped are dealt through the present research.

Through his another book, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb* published in 1997, M. Athar Ali has presented an extensive study of ethnic and religious identities in Mughal nobility particularly under Aurangzeb and the domination of Iranis and Turanis within it. He has given the political identities of these Iranis and Turanis, economic activities pursued by some of them as well as their social life.

Similarly another work, *The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir; A Study of Family Groups* by Afzal Hussain, published in the year 1999 is an in depth investigation of the study of family groups, out of which the chapter on the political life of family of Bairam Khan, Shamsuddin Atka, Ali Quli Khan Zaman, Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung are of special interest to my topic of research. It throws light on the political life of these nobles, as the areas from where their ancestors came, the positions they held in their homeland and the political role, they and their family members played in India.

The book *Political Biography of a Mughal Noble; life of Munim Khan-i-Khanan*, by Iqtidar alam Khan is an exhaustive study of the political life of Munim Khan along with the various other Irani and Turani nobles during the reign of early Mughal Emperors. This book is of special interest as gives us ample amount of information regarding the Irani and Turani nobility under Humayun who served him in Afghanistan and Kabul and their struggle among themselves for the *wikalat* of the empire under Humayun. It also throws light on extensive opportunism and factional rivalries prevalent among the Turanis. In this book, Iqtidar Alam Khan has also given a brief biographical notes on various Irani and Turani nobles serving under Humayun which is helpful for my topic.

Iranians in Mughal Political and Society by A. Dadvar is important for my topic of research as it gives in detail about the relations between the Mughal rulers and Safavids, role of Iranians in Mughal Politics and Administration, Iranian poets, scholars, artists, physicians, scholars, Sufis, traders and travellers in Mughal India. The author has presented an exhaustive study of the regions of Persia from where the Iranians came, what were the reasons and contexts of their migration towards India and the position and ranks they achieved in India. The most distinguishing feature of this book is that A. Dadvar has shown that apart from nobility, poets, physicians, sufis, traders, travellers too came, roamed here and some among them returned back to their native country.

India at the Death of Akbar by W.H. Moreland furnishes an account of the economic position at the close of Akbar's reign. Regarding my topic, the author writes that though the Indian talent was not neglected, the large share of the patronage of Akbar was secured by the visitors from Persia and other parts of Asia. This patronage took three principal forms, the conferment of rank (*mansab*), the grants of stipends in land or cash and the gift of rewards for particular performances. He also mentioned in detail about the various articles of trade between India and Persia like horses, dried fruits and luxury goods like Persian silk and carpets. He has also given in detail about the role of Persian merchants and the advantages they had over the Indian merchants. Thus from economic point of view, the present work is of much importance, yielding the information which is furnished in great detail through this research.

The Making of Indo-Persian Culture Indian and French Studies, edited by Muzaffar Alam, Francoise Nalini Delvoye and Marc Gaboriau, published in 2000, is a collection of sixteen essays, out of which the paper 'New Data on the Dawn of Mughal Painting and Calligraphy' by Chahryar Adle is important for this research. Through this paper, C. Adle tried to throw light on the influence of Central Asia and Iran on early Mughal painting and calligraphy. Besides she also dealt extensively through this paper on various Irani and Turani artists in the service of early Mughal rulers and the reasons for their seeking patronage with the Mughals.

The Mughal State 1526-1750, by Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam is a collection of articles by various authors. The second article entitled 'Turko-Mongol Theory of Kingship' by Ram Prasad Tripathi is related to my topic as the author writes that the Turks, Iranians and the Mongols considered the position of sovereign as something higher than simply a leader. It shows in detail that how Nizamuddin Khalifa, the *vazir* of Babur, who was suspected of having some grievance against Humayun, intrigued to raise to the throne Mahdi Khwaja, a brother in law of Babur, however his attempt failed. R.P Tripathi has also shown that in spite of the grand notions of Humayun regarding the position of *Padshah* and his expectations of receiving absolute obedience from the nobles, the latter on more than one occasion forced their will on him.

Religion, State and Society in Medieval India by S. Nurul Hasan is a collection of essays on Medieval Indian History, out of which the paper 'New Light on the Relations of the Early Mughal Rulers with their Nobility' is related to my topic. The

author has shown that how the difference of personalities of Babur and Humayun, the political conditions under them and the traditions of Mughals were the factors responsible for the numerous acts of disloyalty of Irani and Turani nobles under Humayun. Through this paper, Nurul Hasan has very aptly portrayed the relationships between Babur and Humayun with their nobility, inherent contradictions of the early Mughal nobility and the fact that if it wanted to maintain its social position, it had to surrender its political power.

Social Life of Mughal Emperors (1526-1707) by M.A Ansari gives in detail the contributions made by Iranis and Turanis in poetry, literature as well as painting in Mughal India. He mentions the names of Iranis and Turanis like Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, Hakim Abdul-Fath Gilani who patronised the men of letters. He writes that due to the keen interest of Humayun in the art of painting, painters from Persia came to India and helped in founding the Mughal School of Painting and painters like Abul Hasan and Ustad Mansur were so good in painting that they were entitled as *Nadiru-l-Zaman* and *Nadiru-l-asar*. Thus the present work proves to be of immense help in constructing certain social aspects of the life of Iranis and Turanis.

The New Cambridge History of India; the Mughal Empire by John F. Richards covers the period from the beginning of sixteenth century up to 1720. Regarding my topic, the author has given in detail about the asylum and help sought by Humayun in the court of Shah Tahmasp and the Irani and Turani nobles who accompanied him to Persia and in his conquest of India. J.F Richards statement that the orthodox Sunni Muslim Central Asian (Turani) nobles disliked deferring to a Persian Shia like Bairam Khan refers to a hint about rivalry that intensified between the two groups later on. He has given in detail about the revolt waged by the Uzbek nobles in 1564, 1565, 1579-80. He has mentioned about various Irani nobles like Khwaja Shah Mansur, Mir Fathullah Shirazi, Khwaja Abdus Samad, Nur Jahan, Itimad ud Daula, Asaf Khan, Mirza Nathan, Ali Mardan Khan etc.

The Social change and Development in Medieval Indian history by Satish Chandra is a collection of essays, dealing with the problem of social change and development in Medieval India. The sixth chapter of this book is of special interest to my topic of research as in this chapter S. Chandra has written about the Historical relations between India and Turan from 15th-18th centuries. Contradicting the statement of imperial historians who have compared the migrants from Iran and Turan to British

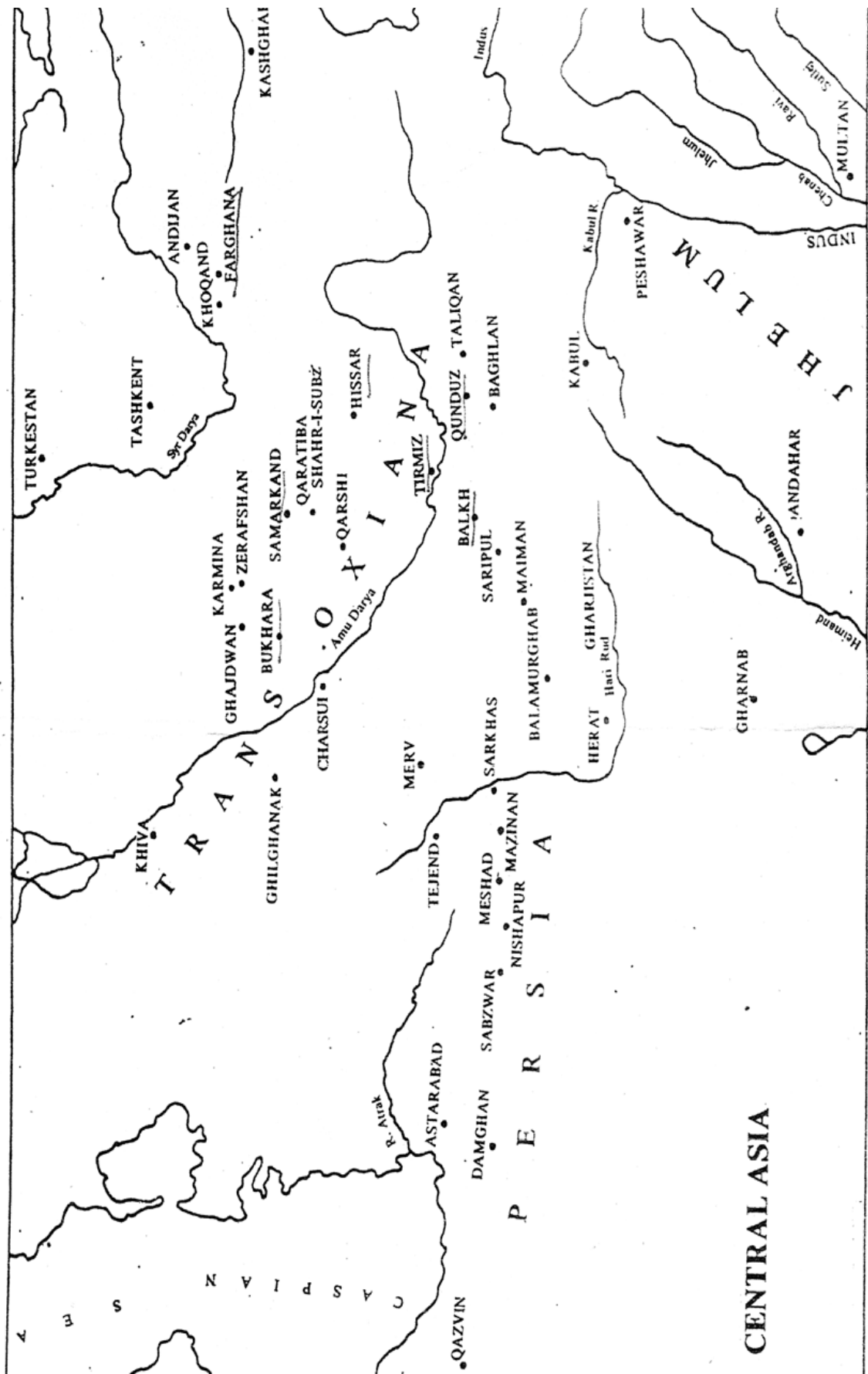
civil servants, S. Chandra writes that unlike the British who had a power base outside India, and for whom India was always an alien country to be exploited, the bulk of Irani and Turani migrants made India their home, assimilating themselves to Indian culture and enriching it with their own insights and skills. Thus though the present work provides a very general picture of the relations between Iran and Turan during the Mughal period, yet it pinpoints certain unique aspects whose in depth study can yield rich dividends for my topic of research.

Nevertheless, majority of these modern works gives us a generalised account of the Mughal nobility. Though some of them deal with Iranis and Turanis, but they shed light only on one aspect, i.e. political life of Iranis and Turanis in India. The present work is an attempt to give a coherent account of the socio-political life of Iranis and Turanis in India from Babur to Aurangzeb. It is an earnest attempt to study that how they settled in India and played a role in the consolidation as well as extension of Mughal rule. It also studies the social adjustment of Iranis and Turanis with Indian society and the role they played in the further development of Indo-Persian culture.

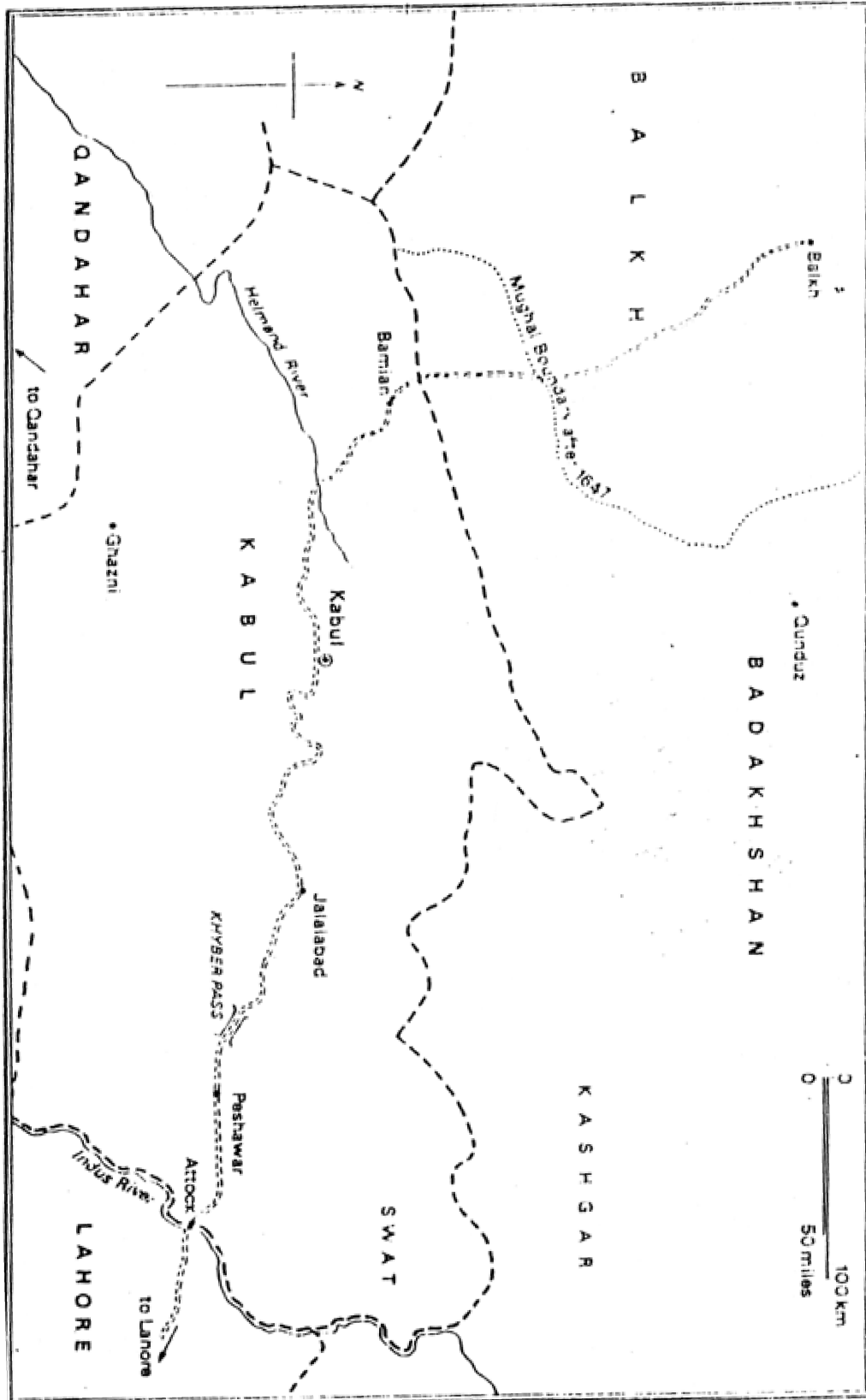
A Sketch Map of IRAN IN SAFAVID PERIOD



Map No. 2



CENTRAL ASIA



Northern Afghanistan (Route from Central Asia and
Iran to Mughal India)

Source: Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*
(Delhi, 1982), 1A-B

**APPENDIX I: SOME PROMINENT IRANI AND TURANI NOBLES IN
MUGHAL EMPIRE (1556-1707)**

Name	Area of migration	Period of migration	Position in India
Bairam Khan(I)	Badakhshan	Entered Humayun's army when he was sixteen years old in 1539-40.	<i>Muhardar</i> and <i>Wakil</i> under Humayun and regent under Akbar.
Shamsuddin Atka(I)	Ghaznin	Humayun.	He saved Humayun's life while the king was crossing the Ganges after the battle of Chausa. Under Akbar, he was appointed as <i>wakil</i> .
Munim Khan(I)	Andijan	Humayun	<i>Wakil</i> .
Mirza Aziz Koka(T)	Ghaznin	He came to India with his father	
Mirza Sulaiman(T)	Badakhshan	Akbar	Commander of 6,000.
Mirza Shahrukh(T)	Badakhshan	Akbar	Governor of Malwa, commander of 7,000.
Ghazi-Khan-i-Badakhshi(T)	Badakhshan	Akbar	Important grandee of Akbar's court, introduced <i>Sijdah</i> in the Mughal court
Sultan Khwaja Naqshbandi(T)	Samarqand	Akbar	<i>Mir Hajj</i> , commander of 1,000 and <i>Sadr</i>

Itimad ud Daula(I)	Tehran	Akbar in 1590	1000 rank and <i>Diwan Buyutat</i> in Akbar's reign, <i>Wakil-i-Kul</i> and 7000 <i>zat</i> and 5000 <i>sawar</i> in Jahangir's period.
Mahabat Khan(I)	Kabul	Jahangir	Great confidant of the Emperor and combined in himself the offices of <i>wakil</i> , <i>Vazir</i> , <i>Munshi</i> , <i>Mir Manzil</i> , <i>Bavarchi</i> and <i>Safarchi</i> .
Asaf Khan(I)	Tehran	Akbar in 1590. He came to India with his father in search of better opportunities	High position in Mughal court, such as; governor of Bengal, Punjab, post of <i>Wakil</i> and rank of 7000 <i>zat</i> and 7000 <i>sawar</i> .
Ali Mardan Khan(I)	Kerman	Shah Jahan (1638)	<i>Amir-ul-Umara Yar-i-Wafadar</i> , governor of Kashmir, Kabul and rank of 7000 <i>Zat</i> and 7000 <i>sawar</i> .
Mir Jumla(I)	Isfahan	Shah Jahan	Trader and administrator with rank of 6000 <i>zat</i> and 6000 <i>sawar</i>
Danishmand Khan(I)	Yazd	Shah Jahan 1650	<i>Mir Bakhshi</i>
Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan(I)	Badakhshan	He accompanied his father	Given title of <i>Khan-i-Khanan</i> , appointed as <i>Wakil</i> , appointed in Sindh, Deccan and given the rank of 7000 <i>zat</i> and 7000 <i>sawar</i>
Aqil Khan Inayatullah		In the company of his father during Shah Jahan's reign	Rank of 3000 <i>zat</i> with 1000 <i>Sawar</i> , <i>Mir Saman</i> , <i>waqianavis</i>

Shaista Khan(I)

He was son of Asaf Khan, who came to India with Itimad ud Daula

Rank of 5000 *zat* and 5000 *sawar* by Shah Jahan, given title of *Amir ul Umara*, appointed to Malwa, Deccan and Chittagong.

APPENDIX II: SOME PROMINENT IRANIS AND TURANIS WITH THEIR EXPERTISE IN MUGHAL INDIA

Name	Place of birth	Period of migration	Profession
Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini	Qazwin	Humayun	Tutor of Akbar
Qazi Nurullah Shustari	Shustar	Akbar	Poet
Shah Fathullah Shirazi	From Shiraz to Deccan(kingdom of Bijapur). He came to the court of Akbar in 1583.	Akbar	Pioneer of new education policy under Akbar.
Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan	Badakhshan	He accompanied his father	As a poet, he wrote under the pen name of <i>rahim</i>
Ghazli	Mashhad	Akbar	<i>Malik-us-Shuara</i> (poet Laureate)
Maulana Jamal-ud-Din Muhammad (Urfi)	Shiraz	Akbar	Wrote collection of poems and a <i>masnavi</i> written in the metre of <i>Makhzan-ul-Asrar</i> .
Muhammad Husayn Naziri	Nishapur	Akbar	Poet
Maulana Nur-ud-Din (Zahuri)	Khujand in Khorasan	Akbar	Poet
Abul Talib Kalim	Kashan	Jahangir and Shah Jahan	Was patronized by Mir Jumla who called him <i>Ruh-ul-Amin</i> . Under Shah Jahan, he versified the <i>Padshahnama</i> .
Mir Ghiyas Mirak	Herat	Babur	Architect
Ustad Shah Muhammad	Khurasan	Babur	Architect
Usta Dost	Mashhad	Akbar	Musician

Mir Sayyid Ali	Mashhad	Akbar	Musician
Tash Beg	Qipchaq	Akbar	Musician
Hafiz Khwaja Ali	Mashhad	Akbar	Musician
Pir Zada	Khurasan	Akbar	Musician
Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi	Tabriz	Akbar	Painter
Khwaja Abd-al Samad	Shiraz	Humayun and Akbar	Honoured with title of <i>Shirin-Qalam</i> by Humayun.
Aqa Riza	Herat	Jahangir	Painter
Ustad Shah Mansur		Jahangir	Honoured with title of <i>Nadir-ul-Asar</i>

APPENDIX III: IRANIS AND TURANIS AS FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

Mehdi Khwaja as brother-in-law of Babur

Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain as brother-in-law of Akbar

Bairam Khan as son-in-law of Humayun.

Itimad ud Daula as father-in-law of Jahangir

Mirza Aziz Koka as father-in-law of Prince Murad

Mirza Muzaffar Hussain as father-in-law of Shah Jahan

**APPENDIX IV: SOME IRANIS AND TURANIS AS CREATORS OF
DISTURBANCES (THEIR REBELLIOUS ACTIVITIES)**

Name	Mughal ruler under whom they rebelled	Year of rebellion
Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain	Akbar	1562-63
Shah Abdul Maali	Akbar	1564
Ali Quli Khan Zaman	Akbar	1565-67
Asaf Khan	Akbar	1565-66
Mirzas	Akbar	1566
Masoom Khan Kabuli	Akbar	1585
Mirza Hasan	Akbar	1603

APPENDIX V-SOME PROMINENT IRANI AND TURANI WOMEN IN MUGHAL INDIA

Hamida Bano Begum, wife of Humayun and mother of Akbar.

Nur Jahan, wife of Jahangir and daughter of Itimad ud Daulah

Asmat Begum, wife of Itimad-ud-Daula

Arjumand Bano Begum (Mumtaz Mahal), wife of Shah Jahan

Qandhari Mahal, wife of Shah Jahan

Jiji Anga, wife of Shamsuddin Atka

Maham Anga, mother of Adham Khan

Sati Khanum, sister of Talib Amuli.

SETTLEMENTS OF IRANIS AND TURANIS IN MUGHAL INDIA (1526-1707)

There was a continuous movement of peoples from Mongolia, China, Central Asia, Persia, Turkey, and Arabia to India during Medieval period. Ever since the much traversed Silk Road (an ancient trade route that linked China with the West) have provided the opportunity for frequent intercourses and exchanges of commodities and ideas; emigrations had become common phenomena, and people migrated in waves and new settlements sprang up. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the inflow of Turanis and Iranis to India continued and took up service in India under the Mughal Empire, as there was greater opportunities for advancement in Mughal India. Once they came to India, they started adjusting themselves with the Indian society and settled in various parts of India. While virtually all walks of life were represented in this migration which included calligraphers, scholars, artists, musicians, painters, and even the menial servants who accompanied the above mentioned, the Mughal sources naturally give most attention to individuals who attained ranks in the Mughal administration.

Plethora of research has so far been done by various scholars like Athar Ali,¹ Afzal Hussain,² Firdous Anwar,³ Dr. A Dadvar⁴, Masashi Haneeda on the Iranis and Turanis as part of Mughal nobility, however the present chapter is an earnest attempt to do an indepth study on the various aspects of their settlements in India, which has been catagorised as under-

1. Settlements of Iranis and Turanis from 1526-1540.
2. Settlements of Iranis and Turanis from 1540-1707.

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- 1 M. Athar Ali, *Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1966 and *the Apparatus of Empire, Awards of Rank, offices and Titles of the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, Delhi, 1985.
 - 2 Afzal Hussain, *The nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir-A Study of Family Groups*, Delhi, 1999.
 - 3 Firdos Anwar, *Nobility Under the Mughals (1628-58)*, New Delhi, 2001.
 - 4 Abolghasem Dadvar, *Iranians in Mughal Politics and Society 1606-1658*, New Delhi, 1999.

Besides, as the process of settlements cannot be discussed without discussing the immigration, therefore this chapter begins with a brief account of the pattern of immigration of these Iranis and Turanis to India under Mughals.

PATTERN OF IMMIGRATION OF IRANIS AND TURANIS DURING MUGHALS-

Under Mughals, Iranis and Turanis came to India from diverse regions of Iran and Turan, for instance Ispahan, Yazd, Kirman, Khurasan, Tehran, Gilan, Azberbaizan, Kordistan, Sistan in Iran and Balkh, Badakhshan, Herat, Ferghana, Samarqand etc in Turan. Regarding immigration, Richard Foltz in his paper, 'Central Asians In The Administration of Mughal India' writes, "The lure of India's proverbial riches and the Mughal reputation for generosity, together with the frequency of civil disorder within the Uzbek appendage system, were the main factors enticing military and administrative personnel to give up their lives in Central Asia and relocate to the south. Of course the Mughal Empire was full of fortune hunters and refugees of all origins, but the Mughals tended to receive defectors from their Uzbek and Safavid rivals with particularly open arms, and such figures often rose to great heights within the Mughal system."⁵ A. Dadvar, in his book *Iranians in Mughal polity and society* further categorises Irani immigrants coming to Mughal Empire in to two Categories: "In the first, there were many Iranians coming directly from Iran in search of employment in administration, since they were forced to leave their own country due to growing political instability and Uzbek pressure. Quite a few of them belonged to the reputed and eminent families whose members had been in the service of Safavid rulers holding important positions, while some others were themselves in possession of high offices in Iran. In addition to these two groups, a number of important Iranian immigrants who had been serving in the Deccan kingdoms also joined the Mughal service during the period."⁶

Under Babur and during the first phase of Humayun's reign the court had a Central

5 Richard foltz, 'Central Asians in the Mughal Administration', *Journal of Asian History*, Vol.31. No.2 (1997), p.140.

6 Dr. Abolghasem Dadvar, *Iranians In Mughal Politics And Society 1606-1658*, Delhi, 1999,p.71.

Asia complexion. After Humayun's return from Persia the Persian influx began. Bayram Khan, Turkish in culture but with pronounced *Shia* proclivities represented the synthesis of the two cultural streams. Under Akbar there was an influx of rationalist intellectuals escaping from the inhibiting orthodoxy of Abdullah Khan Uzbek in Transoxiana, and of Persian poets migrating from Iran where the lack of patronage by the Safavids was diverting the course of the main stream of Persian poetry from its own soil to hospitable India. On the whole Shah Jahan preferred Central Asians (Turanis) and his reign marks the turning point in the rivalry between Irani and Turani factions at the Mughal court. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the Turani party gained definite ascendancy. Let us have a brief look at the pattern of immigration of Iranis and Turanis under various Mughal Emperors.

UNDER ZAHIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD BABUR

The Mughal Military was of course originally Central Asian, and from the start it included not only members of the Turkic Chaghatay tribe but also Uzbeks, even Shibanids, members of the clan that had ousted the Timurid founder of the Mughal Empire, Babur, from Central Asia during the early 1500's.⁷ Thus The nobility which came with Babur to Hindustan naturally had a predominantly Turani complexion; a few individuals of Khurasani or Persian extraction who seem to have joined Babur's service in minor capacities after the fall of Timurid principality in Hirat in 1507 were, perhaps, the only exception.⁸ These Khurasanis were the persons identified with Sultan Husain Baiqara's enlightened rule who were obliged to leave Khurasan after it was occupied by Shaibani Khan in 1507.⁹ Among these Khurasanis a considerable section consisted of the Turkish speaking persons of diverse origins who had come to be classed with the Persians owing to their prolonged stay there in the service of

7 Richard Foltz, *Op.cit.*, p. 139.

8 Zahiru'd-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi, *Babur-Nama (Memoirs Of Babur)*, Vol.I, tr. A.S. Beveridge, Delhi, 2000, pp. 275, 276, 277, 278. Babur has very clearly mentioned about their service as the *amirs* of Hussain Baiqara, their family background, as well as their personal character.

9 *Ibid.* Also see "The Mughal Empire and the Iranian Diaspora of the Sixteenth Century" by Iqtidar Alam Khan published in *A Shared heritage: The Growth Of Civilizations In India And Iran*, edited by Irfan Habib, 2002, II rpt. 2012, p.102.

Sultan Husain Mirza, for instance Sultan Junaid Barlas,¹⁰ Yunus Ali,¹¹ Hasan Ali Jalair,¹² Qasim Husain Shaibani all of whom had a Turani background.¹³ When Babur attacked India, prominent Turanis with him were Khwaja Klan, Nizamuddin Khalifa, Sultan Junaid Barlas, Hindu Beg, Sultan Muhammad Duldai, Treasurer Wali, Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Shah Mir Hussain, Qutluq-qadam, Jan Beg, Sulaiman Mirza, Muhammadi Kukuldash, Shah Mansur Barlas, Yunas-i-ali, Darwish-i-muhammad Sarban, Tardi Beg, Abdu'l-aziz the Master of the Horse, Malik Wasim (brother) of Baba Qashqa and many others like Qasim Husain (Uzbek) and Chin Timur (Mongol).¹⁴ Afzal Hussain in *The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir*

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- 10 Babur, *Op. cit.*, p.276. Regarding him, it has been mentioned in *Baburnama* that he was the father of Nizamud-din 'Ali, Babur's *Khalifa* (Vice-regent). That *Khalifa* was of religious house on his mother's side may be inferred from his being styled both *Sayyid* and *Khwaja* neither of which titles could have come from his Turki father. His mother may have been *Sayyida* of one of the religious families of Marghinan, since *Khalifa's* son Muhibb-i-ali writes his father's name "Nizamud-din 'Ali Marghilani" in the preface of his Book on Sport (Rieu's Pers. Cat. P.485).
- 11 *Ibid*, p. 278. It has been mentioned in *Baburnama* that Yunas Ali, son of Baba Ali was a *beg*, a confidant and of his Babur's household.
- 12 *Ibid*. "Hasan of Ali Jalair was another. His original name was Hussain Jalair but he came to be called 'Ali's Hasan. His father 'Ali Jalair must have been favoured and made a *beg* by Babur Mirza; no man was greater later on when Yadgar-i-muhammad M. took Heri. Hasan-i-ali was Sl. Hussain Mirza's Qush-begi. He made *Tufaili* (Uninvited guest) his pen-name; wrote good odes and was the master of this art in his day. He wrote odes on my name when he came to my presence at the time I took Samarkand in 917 AH. (1511 AD.) Impudent (*bi bak*) and prodigal he was, a keeper of catamites, a constant dicer and draught-player.
- 13 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *The Political Biography Of A Mughal Noble: Mun'im Khan Khan-I Khanan, 1497-1575*, Delhi, 1991, p.ix.
- 14 Babur, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 445-474. Regarding Battle of Panipat, Babur himself writes in *Baburnama* that "Our right was Humayun, Khwaja Kalan, Sultan Muhammed Duldai, Hindu Beg, Treasurer Wali and Pir-quli *Sistani* ; our left was Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Shah Mir Hussain, Sl. Junaid Barlas, Qutuq-qadam, Jan Beg, pay-master Muhammad, and Shah Hussain (of) Yaragi *Mughul Ghanchi*. The right hand of the centre was Chin-timur Sultan, Sulaiman Mirza, Muhammadi Kukuldash, Shah Mansur Barlas, Yunas-i-ali, Darwish-i-muhammad Sarban and ' Abdu'l-lah the librarian. The left of the centre was Khalifa, Khwaja Mir-i-miran, Secretary Ahmadi, Tardi Beg (brother) of Quj Beg, Khalifa's Muhibb-i-ali and Mirza Beg Tarkhan. The advance was Khusrau Kukuldash and Muh. Ali *Jang-jang*. Abdu'l-aziz the master of the horse was posted as the reserve. For the turning party (*tulghuma*) at the point of the right wing, we fixed on Red Wali and Malik Qasim (brother) of Baba Qashqa, with their Mughuls; for the turning party at the point

writes that after the battle of Panipat, the nobility of Babur no longer remained purely Turani and further mentions that out of a total 116 nobles of Babur, 9 (7.76%) were Iranis and 73 (62.93%) were Turanis.¹⁵

UNDER NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD HUMAYUN-

The premature death of Babur created difficulties for his inexperienced son Humayun, and he had to consolidate the gains that his father had left for him.¹⁶ It is well known that the life of Humayun, son of the founder of the Mughal Empire, was turbulent, alternating between successes and setbacks. Due to the non-co-operation of his brothers, Humayun had to loose his throne in a confrontation with Sher Shah Suri, the Afghan leader, and went into exile in 1540 A.D. The Mughal nobility which had begun to resume a predominantly Turani complexion after the accession of Humayun became purely Turani afterwards, with the exception as before of a few Iranis.¹⁷

But a great change in the composition of Mughal nobility occurred during his exile period 1540-1555 A.D., when most of his Turani nobles left him and joined Mirza Kamran, his brother and ruler of Kabul and Qandahar.¹⁸ A list of nobles given by the Abul Fazl, who accompanied Humayun to Persia during his exile period, consists of only 26 persons in all.¹⁹ It is significant that out of these, 7 were of Persian origin comprising 27 percent almost against the whole companions; they were, Bairam Khan, Khwaja Mu'azzam, Khwaja Ghazi Tabrezi, Hasan Ali Ishak Aqa, his son Ali Dost Barbegi, Muhammad Qasim Mauji, and Khwaja Amber Nazir.²⁰ Majority were Turanis and they were; Aqil Sultan Uzbeg, Haji Muhammad Koki, Rushan Koka, Khwaja Maqsud, Khwaja Aminu-d-din Mahmud, Baba Dost Bakhshi, Darvish Maqsud Bengali, Shaikh Yusuf Quli, Shaikh Bahlul, Maulana Nuru-d-din, Haider

of the left wing, we arrayed Qara-quzi, Abu'l-muhammad the lance-player, Shaikh Jamal Barin's Shaikh Ali, Mahndi and Tingri-birdi *Bashaghi Mughul*"

15 Afzal Hussain, *Op.cit.*, p.4.

16 B.V Rao, *World History*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 183.

17 Afzal Hussain, *Op.cit.*, p. 4, 5.

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.*

20 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama, Vol.I*, Tr. by , H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1972, pp. 447-52.

Muhammad Akhta Begi, Saiyid Muhammad Pakhna, Hafiz Sultan Muhammad Rakhna, Mirza Beg Baluc and his son Mir Hussain.²¹ On the other hand during his stay in Persia, many people of Persian origin joined Humayun's service, for instance; Wali Beg Zulqadar and his two sons, Hussain Quli and Ismail Quli; also Haider Sultan Shaibani and his two sons, Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan. Certain other relatives and clansmen of Bairam Khan though in minor capacities also joined Humayun's service.²²

The large influx of the Iranians of different ranks and backgrounds into the Mughal service came at the time of Humayun's return to Kabul from Shah Tahmasp's court in 1545.²³ Some of the Iranian notables who came with Humayun on this occasion already had the status of military officers under Shah Tahmasp. They were in fact deputed by the Shah to assist Humayun in his efforts to recover his lost empire.²⁴ Among them one may find mention of Husain Quli Sultan (brother of Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan),²⁵ Mirza Yaqub (a maternal uncle of the prince Khuda Banda who was nominated by the Shah to act *muhrdar* of Humayun), Khwaja Rushdi (deputed to act as *diwan*). The Shah also permitted the Uzbek chief, Haider

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid*, p. 623.

23 Gulbadan, *Vol.II, Op.cit.*, p. 301. "When Humayun arrived in the province of Sistan, he found the Persian troops that had been sent to his assistance, cantoned over the country. They nominally under the command of Murad Mirza, the third son of the king of Persia, and an infant of two or three years of age; but were in reality commanded by Bidagh khan, of the Turki tribe of *Kajar*, from which the present royal family of Persia is descended. Humayun, in compliance with the wish of Shah Tahmasp, as soon as he arrived, collected and reviewed the troops. He found them in high order, and instead of 12,000 cavalry, and 300 *korchis*, or royal horse-guards, that had been promised, the muster proved that they amounted to at least 14,000 horse." See also Iqtidar Alam Khan's "Iranian Diaspora of the Sixteenth Century", *A Shared Heritage; The Growth of Civilizations in India and Iran*, ed. by Irfan Habib, New Delhi, 2002, p.102.

24 *Ibid*, p. 294. "The twelve thousand cavalry that were to be placed under the nominal command of Sultan Murad Mirza, the Shah's third son, then an infant, were Kizelbashs of the Turki tribes. Bidagh Khan Kajar was named his Atalik or Protector. Shah-kuli sultan Afshar, the governor of Kerman, Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan, his brother Husein-kuli and a number of other officers and Amirs, were ordered to co-operate. The Shah told Humayun that he would add three hundred *Korchi Khaseh* (of his own body-guard cuirassiers), ready to obey any order of his Majesty, as if he had been their religious guide."

25 *Ibid*, pp.276, 294.

Sultan Shaibani, and his sons, Ali Quli and Bahadur, known for their bravery and distinguished ancestry, to accompany Humayun to Kabul. Along with these notables, there had followed Humayun, at this time, many other men of lesser ranks, such as Bayazid Biyat himself in the hope of finding employment as functionaries in one of the royal establishments or in the *sarkars* of high nobles. Names of some of these men were incidentally recorded by Bayazid in three separate lists of persons who came to India in 1555 in the retinues of Humayun, Akbar and Bairam Khan.

The influx of Iranians to the Mughal court in search of patronage and employment continued throughout the period of Humayun's later stay at Kabul (1545-55) and in the period of Bairam Khan's regency (1556-60) in India.²⁶ However, to counter the power of Iranis, Humayun while planning the recon quest of India, invited the chiefs and warriors of Turan to accompany him on his invasion of Hindustan as a result of which many Turanis joined his ranks.²⁷ Even during the conquest of Qandhar and Kabul in 1545 A.D, many of the old Turani nobles of Humayun rejoined his service for instance Ulugh Mirza,²⁸ Fazil Beg,²⁹ Monaim Beg's brother,³⁰ Kasim Husein Sultan Uzbek, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Monaim Beg, Hindal Mirza,³¹ Tardi beg,³² Bapus Beg,³³ Shah-berdi Khan³⁴ and some other chiefs of distinction. Gulbadan writes in *Humayun nama* that their arrival excited much joy, and was followed by that of many

26 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 103, 104.

27 Gulbadan, *Op.cit.*, p. 509. Humayun now proceeded towards Kabul, whence he addressed letters, not only to the different parts of his own dominions, but to Samarqand, Bokhara, and the cities of the north, inviting adventurers to join him in his grand enterprise.

28 *Ibid*, p.309.

29 *Ibid*.

30 *Ibid*

31 *Ibid*.

32 *Ibid*, p. 322.

33 *Ibid*.

34 *Ibid*.

others, both *amirs* and soldiers, who now hastened to return to their allegiance.³⁵ But these old nobles remained wavering in their loyalty.

In the meantime, large influx of Persians of different ranks and backgrounds into the Mughal service changed the scenario of Mughal nobility. As a result, the old Turani nobility tended to fade away from the political scene and the Persian nobles improved their position. Regarding this phenomenon, Afzal Hussain writes in his paper entitled, 'Liberty and Restraint-A Study of Shiaism in the Mughal Nobility', "It appears that, for the first time, *Shias* were not only admitted in large numbers but were also given important position. Bairam Khan Wali Beg Zulqadar, Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan and certain other nobles professed Shia faith openly. The phenomenon caused much resentment among the older Turani nobles."³⁶

UNDER JALALLUDIN MUHAMMAD AKBAR-

When Akbar ascended the throne, though many Iranis and Turanis had already established their roots in India, however a larger number of new immigrants from Iran and Turan came and were welcomed during his reign. Even Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* writes, "Infinite praise to the Almighty that through the justice of the Emperor and the harmonious order of his administration, Hindustan has become a gathering of the virtuous from all parts of the Universe, each of whom, in manifold ways has attained to the desire of his heart."³⁷ When Akbar ascend the throne, prominent Turanis under him were Shamsuddin Atka, Munim Khan, Said Khan, Qutubud-Din Khan, Tardi Beg, *Khan-i-Azam* Mirza Aziz Koka, Zayn Khan Koka whereas prominent Iranis were Haider Sultan Shaibani, Mulla Pir Muhammad Khan, Haji Muhammad Khan. Regarding Mirza Aziz Koka, Akbar used to say, "Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross."³⁸

35 *Ibid.*

36 Afzal Hussain, "Liberty and Restraint- A Study of Shiaism in the Mughal Nobility," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, p. 276.

37 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.III, tr.H.S.Jarret, Delhi, 2006, p. 349.

38 *Ibid*, p. 343. "His mother was Ji Ji Anaga. He grew up with Akbar, who remained attached to him to the end of his life. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would rarely punish him."

The grandeur of the Mughal empire under Akbar, the patronage provided to the foreign immigrants as well as the turbulent political conditions in Iran and Turan led many more Iranis and Turanis to come to India and seek asylum, for instance Turanis like Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Shahrukh, Ghazi Khan-i-Badakhshi, Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain and Iranis like Mirza Rustum Safawi, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, Sharif Amuli, Mirza Muzaffar Hussain Safavi, Nurullah Shushtri, Shah Fath ul-lah Shirazi and many others who were able to attain important political role under Akbar.³⁹ As these immigrants belonged to different religious beliefs, M. Athar Ali in his book *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* writes, “The Akbar’s policy of *Sulh-i-kul* (peace for all) was partly motivated by a desire to employ elements of diverse religious beliefs; *Sunnis* (Turanis and most of the *Shaikhzadas*), *Ithna Ashariyabs* (including many Persians) and *Hindus* (Rajputs).⁴⁰

UNDER JAHANGIR-

It is a well known fact that the marriage of Mehrunnisa with Jahangir and the ascendancy of her family during his reign becomes one of the important factor for the migration of many Iranis to his court. Even Manucci while tracing the descent of NurJahan in *Storio Do Mogor*, writes, “Through her influence, the court of the great Mughals was filled with great nobles from Persia.”⁴¹ For instance Mir Jumla Isfahani, Musawi Khan, Muhammad Shafi Sabzwari, Dhul Faqr Khan, Saif Khan, Nawab Azam Khan, Qasim Khan Namakin⁴² and many more joined the Mughal court during the reign of Jahangir. All of these, owing to the strength of their sword as well as personal merit were able to gain ascendancy in the Mughal court. Nevertheless, it

39 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. cit.*, 2000, p.108. The author has mentioned the name of Irani notables who came before 1580 and those who came after 1580.

40 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p.16.

41 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, (Eng Tr.) William Irvine ‘Mogul India’, Vol.I, London, 1906, p.159.

42 Niccolao Manucci, p.171, “Some years before the death of Jahangir, it happened that secretory (*wazir*) presented to him a Persian, exaggerating greatly about him, and saying that he was known to everyone in Persia, and even to king himself, who ate salt in his house. As the king heard about him he made him a great noble, and gave him the title of *Cassam Can* (Qasim Khan).

does not negate the fact that Turanis too came to India during his reign. The chronic unrest and instability which characterized Uzbek politics seems to have been a major reason for seeking employment in India. Following the disruptions of 1611, for example, many Uzbek generals and soldiers, including such names as Husayn Biy, Pahalvan Baba, Nauras Bey Darman, and Bahram Biy came to serve Jahangir and were rewarded with robes of honour, horses, cash, *mansabs* and *jagirs*.⁴³

UNDER SHAH JAHAN-

In his reign of Shahjahan, the Mughal Empire reached to the zenith of its prosperity and affluence which attracted many foreign immigrants to come to India. B.P Saksena in his book *History of Shahjahan of Delhi* writes, “The fame of the wealth of India attracted a stream of foreign visitors from across the seas, who were dazzled by the magnificent grandeur of the Emperor and his court. The gorgeousness of his court surpassed their imaginations, and drew from them unstinted admiration.”⁴⁴ Iranis who came during his reign were Mukhlis Hussain Tabrizi, Banda Reza Tabriz, Ali Mardan Khan⁴⁵, Ibrahim Khan, Muhammad Ali Beg, Danishmand Khan⁴⁶, Mirza Abul Qasim, Muhammad Taqi⁴⁷, Aqil Khan Inayatullah⁴⁸.

43 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng.Tr. Alexanders Rogers, *Vol.I*, Delhi, 1978, pp. 115-116.

44 Banarasi Prasan Daksena, *History Of Shahjahan Of Delhi*, Allahabad, 1962, p. 237.

45 Inayat Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, Eng. Tr. W.E Begley & Z.A Desai, New Delhi, 1990, pp.221-227.

46 *Ibid*, p.451. “On the 9th of *Zi’l-Hijja* this year 1060 (3 December 1650), a learned scholar named Mulla Shafi’a Yazdi had the honour of being presented at court. After mastering all the known sciences both natural and metaphysical, for the sake of earning an honest livelihood, he had engaged to sell goods for merchants on condition of retailing half the profits; and having come to Hindustan for this purpose, he spent some time in the sublime camp and then departed to Surat with intent to return home. However, when the extent of his learning and abilities became known to the Emperor, an order was issued from the wisdom-cherishing presence for his presentation at court. Accordingly, on the 9th of *Zi’l-Hijja* 1060 (3 November 1650), he made his obeisance and was presented with a robe of honour and 3,000 rupees.”

47 Muhammad Taqi Tavildar Tansuqat (cashier of goods) came to India in 1630, with Muhammad Ali who was the ambassador of Shah Safi to Shahjahan.

Under him, Turanis too were immigrating to India. For instance, diplomats sent by the Uzbeks were occasionally enticed into Mughal service as Waqqas Hajji, who first came to India as ambassador of Nazr Muhammad in 1632 entered Shah Jahan's service and was given the *faujdari* of Kangra and the title of Shah Quli Khan.⁴⁹ Besides the Mughal invasion of Central Asia in 1646 triggered a number of important defections, including that of Abdullah Beg Sarai, Grandson of Imam Quli's *ataliq* (Shakur Beg). He was sent along with his brother Muhammad Muhsin by his father Mansur Hajji, Nazr Muhammad's governor of Termez, to pay tribute to Shah Jahan following the Mughal victory. Abdullah Beg later received the title *Yekataz Khan* (he who fights singly) and was killed during Prince Shuja's rebellion in 1658.⁵⁰ In addition to such voluntary transfers of allegiance, during the Mughal occupation Shah Jahan sent "a large group of scholars, theologians and others" from Balkh to India, where he granted them *sayurghals* (grants of land revenue- a Mongol tradition) in different parts of the Empire. Two Ashtarkhanid tutors, Razzaqberdi Ataliq, who had served Nazr Muhammad and Hajji Biy Kushchi, who had been tutors to Wali Muhammad had come and joined Shah Jahan.⁵¹ Even Nazr Muhammad's sons Khusraw Sultan⁵² and Abd al-Rahman⁵³ sought Mughal protection, as did Allah Quli, son of the powerful Uzbek commander and 'king maker' Yalangtosh.⁵⁴

48 Nawwab Samsam-Ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-Ul-Umara*, Vol I, Tr. H. Beveridge, Revised, annotated and compiled by Baini prashad, Patna, 1979, p. 259.

49 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, pp.94, 205.

50 *Shah jahannama*, p. 395. Also see Nawwab Samsam-Ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-Ul-Umara*, vol I, Tr. H. Beveridge, Revised, annotated and compiled by Baini prashad, Patna, rpt, 1979, p. 509. "When by the exertions of prince Murad Bakhsh, Badakhshan and Bulkh came into the king's possession, and Nazr Muhammad became a vagabond, the Haji had charge of the government and port of Termiz. From soundness of Judgement he sent his sons Muhammad Muhsin and Abdullah Beg to wait upon the prince, and expressed his devotion to court."

51 Richard foltz, *Op.cit.*, 1997, p. 144.

52 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 341. "Since the hordes of *Almans* had now gained an opportunity for tumult and rebellion, they proceeded to ravage and lay waste the frontiers of Balkh and Badakhshan. When the Sultan who was in Khanduz realized that no hope of assistance was left to him from any quarter, not even from his father,

UNDER AURANGZEB

During Aurangzeb's reign there appears to have been marked decline in the number of Iranian immigrants, though the broad pattern of their immigration remains the same as in the reign of Shahjahan. Though the number of immigrants coming directly from Iran declines, they could still maintain their majority on account of their inflow from the Deccan. The decline of the direct migration may partly have been due to Aurangzeb's engagement in the Deccan affairs which naturally lessened his interest in the situation in the north-west.

It is also likely that owing to the continuous engagement of Mughal forces in the Deccan, large scale recruitment of the Decanis and the constant pressure on the resources of the empire might have reduced the opportunities for Iranians directly coming from Iran. Nevertheless, Iranians came and important among them are; Mir Hidayat Ullah, Muzaffar beg Kirmani, Mirza Safavi Khan 'Ali Naqi'⁵⁵, Muhammad Amin Beg and the most significant among the Deccani Irani immigrant was Muhammad Ibrahim Mahabat Khan Haiderabadi. Similarly Turanis coming and joining the court of Mughals were Baltun Beg⁵⁶ and Mir Muhammad Amin⁵⁷.

So from above, it becomes amply clear that under various Mughal Emperors, Iranis and Turanis came to India in large numbers and once they came, they were settled in different parts of Mughal India which is as discussed-

he decided that the only remedy for his misfortune lay in his betaking himself to his Majesty's prosperous threshold."

53 *Ibid.* p. 455. "Accordingly, on the 16th of *Jumada* I 1061 (7 May 1651), 'Abd al-Rahman paid his respects and was presented with a robe of honour, jeweled turban ornament, dagger with incised ornament, a horse with gold saddle, a pair of elephants and 20,000 rupees; in addition he also received a *mansab* of 4,000, and his companions were honoured with largesse in proportion to their rank."

54 *Ibid.*, p. 272.

55 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.664. In the 47th year of Emperor's Aurangzib's reign he came to India and entered into service.

56 Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Maathir-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Ahmad Ali, tr. J.N. Sarkar, New Delhi, rpt, 1986, p. 250. A Bukharan nephew of Qilich Khan.

57 *Ibid.*, p.303. He fled Turan after his father, Mir Baha'ud-din, was killed on suspicion of plotting with Urganj ruler Anusha Khan against 'Abd al-Aziz.

SETTLEMENTS OF IRANIS AND TURANIS-

Iranis and Turanis constitute an important section of Mughal nobility and regarding their settlements, J. F Richards writes in his book *The Mughal Empire*, “In Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Burhanpur and other major cities, the morphology of urban life was determined by the settlement patterns of the Mughal nobility. The mansions of the higher nobles were the foci for urban quarters as lesser staff and troops built houses and straw huts nearby and vendor of goods and services clustered around a dependable market. Architects and builders found permanent employment in noble entourages. Mughal officers and, frequently, their women-folk spent large sums of money for the construction of mosques, *sarais* and other buildings. Stone bridges and wells were also favourite projects. In nearly every urban centre such constructions served as testimonial to the wealth and charitable impulses of these grandees.”⁵⁸

Thus once these Turanis and Iranis came to India, they were provided patronage by the various Mughal Emperors and were subsequently settled in various parts of Mughal Empire. For the purpose of convenience, the question of settlement has been discussed into two parts-

Settlements of Iranis and Turanis under Babur and Humayun (1526-1540)-

When Babur came to India, he was accompanied by large number of Turanis and few Iranis who seems to have joined his service after the fall of Timurid power in Hirat.⁵⁹ After the battle of Panipat and the occupation of Agra, Babur ‘parcelled out’ various territories in Hindustan amongst his begs who were asked to go and conquer the respective territories allotted to them.⁶⁰ Lanepool writes in his monograph on Babur,

58 John F. Richards, *The New Cambridge History of India; The Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 1995, p. 62.

59 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Munim Khan*, p. ix. “Even among these Khurasanis, a considerable section consisted of Turkish speaking persons of diverse origins who had come to be classed with the Persians owing to their prolonged stay in the service of Sultan Hussain mirza.

60 Ahsan Raza Khan, ‘Babur’s Settlement Of His Conquests In Hindustan’, published in the proceedings of *Indian History Congress*, Patna, 1968, p.207.

“The Lands and cities of the more settled regions were parcelled out among his officers, or *Jagirdars*, who levied land-tax from the peasant cultivators, the duties from merchants and shop-keepers, and the poll-tax from non-Muslims.”⁶¹

Rushbrook Williams, perhaps influenced by the opinion of Lane Pool writes,

“He hit upon a plan which at once satisfied his begs, and brought more and more territory under his control. He made grants of towns, and fortresses yet unconquered to prominent men, and then sent them off with small force to take possession. In this way Sambhal fell at length to Humayun, Rabiri to Muhammad Ali to Sultan Muhammad Duldai, Dholpur to Sultan Junaid Barlas.”⁶²

Lately Tripathi in *Rise and Fall of Mughal Empire* writes, “Babur adopted the old and the only feasible method for the time being viz. of distributing among his prominent followers the yet unconquered territories and asking them to conquer and consolidate them”⁶³.

All the above statements shows that various territories were assigned by Babur to his nobles before they were actually conquered and that Babur did not alter the administrative plan or the assignment plan he found in vogue, but merely replaced the Afghan *amirs* by his own *Begs*.⁶⁴

Ahsan Raza Khan in his paper, ‘Babur’s Settlement of his conquest in Hindustan’, writes that except Etawah, Dholpur and Sambhal which were assigned before they were conquered, all the other assignments to the Begs were made after the actual conquest of the respective territories.⁶⁵ He further writes that in none of the territories beyond Qanauj, with the exception of Jaunpur, do we find any of Babur’s begs

61 Stanley Lanepool, *Babur (Rulers of India)*, New Delhi, 2005, p. 185.

62 Rushbrook William, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century: A Summary Account of the Political Carrer of Zahirud-Din Muhammad, surnamed Babur*, Delhi, 1900, p. 142.

63 R.P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1960, p. 34.

64 Ahsan Raza Khan, ‘Babur’s settlements of his conquests in Hindustan’, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1967, p.208.

65 *Ibid*, p.209.

holding an assignment. Thus beyond Qanauj, all the territory was ruled over by Babur only through local Afghan chiefs who were granted assignments, roughly speaking worth one fifth of the total *jama* of Hindustan. It seems that in the outlying territories of his empire, he preferred to rule through the local chiefs; and the reason for this policy can be understood only in terms of the difficulties he would have to face in managing these territories by uprooting the local overlords. Besides the *Begs* themselves were reluctant to accept assignments in the troublesome areas, as is evident from the unwillingness of Sultan Muhammad Duldai to go back to his earlier assignment of Qanauj ‘whether from fear or for his reputation’s sake’⁶⁶ and by the reluctance of Muhammad Zaman Mirza to go to Bihar when he was offered.⁶⁷

It is a well known fact that the revenue assignment made by Babur to his nobles are generally referred to as *wajh* and casually with two other synonyms viz. *wajh-i-istiqlamat* and *wajh-i-ulufa* and the holders of such assignments were called *wajhdars*.⁶⁸ Under him, Turanis were given charge of large territories with a fixed sum as their *wajh* out of the total *jama* of that territory. For instance the highest amount of *wajh* sanctioned by Babur was in favour of Turani named Mahdi Khwaja who was given place Biana whose value was 70 lacs *tankas*.⁶⁹

The following table gives the list of Turanis and Iranis nobles who were assigned various places in Hindustan.⁷⁰

Name of Noble	Name of place assigned
Mahdi Khwaja	Biana
Chin Timur Sultan	Tijara

66 Babur, *Op.cit*, Vol.II, p.582. Sultan Muhammad Duldai abandoned Qanauj during the disturbances preceeding the battle of Khanwah. After the battle of Khanwah as he was reluctant to go to Qanauj it was assigned to Muhammad sultan *Mirza*.

67 *Ibid*, pp. 661-62 and 676. Muhammad Zaman Mirza wanted re-inforcements before accepting an assignment in Bihar. However, subsequently Jaunpur was conferred upon him.

68 Ahsan Raza Khan, *Op.cit.*, p.211.

69 Yog Raj Malhotra, *Babur’s Nobility and Administration in Hindustan*, Jalandhar, 1995, p.50.

70 *Ibid*.

Aisan Timur Sultan	Narnaul
Tuqta Bugha Sultan	Shamsabad
Muhammad Sultan Mirza	Qanauj
Tardika	Alwar
Sultan Muhammad Duldai	Sirhind
Abdul Aziz mir Akhaur	Lahore
Abul Muhammad Nezabad	Shamsabad
Ahmad-I Yusuf	Sialkot
Baba Qashqa	Dipalpur
Baba Sultan	Rohtak
Baqi Shaghawal	Dipalpur
Hindu Beg	Bhira
Husain Aikzak	Chenab
Khusrau Kokuldash	Sialkot
Langar Khan	Khushab
Muhammad Ali jang jang	Kalanaur, Malot, Rapri
Muhammad Zaman Mirza	Bihar, Jaunpur
Muhammadi Kokuldash	Samana
Mulla Apa	Irij
Qasim-I Hussain Sultan	Badaun
Rahimdad	Gwalior
Shah Mir Hussain	Jaunpur
Sultan Junaid Barlas	Dholpur, Jaunpur, Chunar
Sultan Muhammad Aughli	Panipat
Tardi Beg Khaksar	Sarsawa

Out of these Turani Nobles, nine were posted at *sarkar* headquarters. Both Chin Timur Sultan and Tardika were posted at Tijara and Alwar which were two major seats or headquarters of Mewat, one being the former and the other being the new capital of Mewat.⁷¹ Mahdi Khwaja was also posted at Biana, the headquarter of

71 *Ibid*, p. 51.

sarkar Biana. Similarly Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Sultan Muhammad Duldai were also posted at Sirhind and Qanauj, respectively, both of which were *Sarkars*. Later on the postings of the two were mutually exchanged, the former was transferred to Qanauj and the latter to Sirhind. Shah Mir Hussain and Sultan Junaid Barlas were posted at Jaunpur and later Junaid Barlas was transferred from Jaunpur to Chunar and Muhammad Zaman Mirza was appointed to Jaunpur. Rahimdad was posted at headquarter of *Sarkar* Gwalior.⁷²

Thus from above, it becomes clear that the *sarkars* to which these Turanis were posted were Mewat, Biana, Qanauj, Sirhind, Jaunpur and Gwalior. Thus, it is worth noting that under Babur, most of the Turanis were conferred assignments in the western part of Babur's empire in Hindustan. With the exception of Jaunpur we do not notice any of Babur's Turani nobles having been granted any place to the east of Qanauj.⁷³ The only other place where Babur appointed a Turani was Awadh where Baqi seems to have been appointed after Shaikh Bayazid Farmuli was driven out of Awadh in the middle of 1528. Evidently the Turanis themselves were reluctant to accept assignments in the East for the fear of the Afghans, as the Afghans were very powerful in the east.⁷⁴

Humayun succeeded to an uneasy realm extending from Kabul and Kandhar to the borders of Bengal. In its Indian portion it was filled with Hindu chiefs prone to local independence but not good at uniting against the outsider, and Turkish and Afghan Muslim chiefs all more or less resentful of the newly imposed raj and watchful for an opportunity to throw it off.⁷⁵ When Humayun ascended the throne, everyone connected with the court received offices and pensions. Mirza Kamran obtained Kabul and Qandhar as his fief; Mirza Askari, Sambhal; Mirza Hindal, Sarkar Alwar; Badakhshan was made over and confirmed to Mirza Sulaiman; and the nobles and great officers and the whole of the victorious army were brought into obedience by

72 *Ibid.*

73 *Ibid*, p. 65.

74 *Ibid.*

75 Percival Spear, *A History of India*, Vol.2, Delhi, 2000, p. 26.

proper measures.⁷⁶ Mirza Kamran, in turn made over the government of Qandhar to Khwaja Kilan Beg.⁷⁷

Later on after the conquering of Gujarat in 1534-35, Humayun gave his attentions to Gujarat and settled them in proper manner. Pattan was given to Mirza Yadgar Nasir; Broach, Nansari and the port of Surat to Qasim Hussain Sultan; Cambay, and Baroda to Dost Beg Ishak Aqa; and Mahmudabad to Mir Bucaka.⁷⁸ When Humayun proceeded to the eastern provinces (1537-40), Mir Faqr Ali, who had been one of the great officers of his Majesty Firdaus Makani Giti-sistani was appointed to the charge of Dihli while Agra was entrusted to Mir Muhammad Bakhshi, who was one of the trusted servants of the state. Yadgar Nasir Mirza, his majesty's cousin, was sent to Kalpi which was his *Jaygir* in order to manage that quarter. Nuru-d-din Muhammad Mirza who was married to his Majesty's sister, Gulrang Begam and was the progenitor of Salma Sultan Begum, was appointed to the charge of Qannauj.⁷⁹

When Bengal came into the possession of Humayun and due to the emergency caused by the excessive rains there, Humayun made over the charge of Bengal to Jahangir Quli Beg and left a large force to support him. He then in the height of the rains turned his bridle and set out for the capital (Agra).⁸⁰ However, under Humayun, these Turani nobles could not settled themselves for a long time in the areas which were assigned to them, as H.G Keen writes in his book *Turks in India*, "After a nine years war, in which the emperor showed all the courage and endurance of his race, the

76 Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.I., Eng. tr. by H. Beveridge, New Delhi, rpt, 1979, p. 287.

77 *Ibid*, p. 292.

78 *Ibid*, p. 317.

79 *Ibid*, p. 329.

80 *Ibid*, p. 341.

fortune of the Pathan and his superior abilities so prevailed that Humayun had no choice but to Quit India.”⁸¹

SETTLEMENTS OF IRANIS AND TURANIS IN INDIA AFTER HUMAYUN'S RECONQUEST OF INDIA - (1556-1707)

Humayun entered Delhi and restored his rule by mid-1555, however he had little time left to consolidate his rule. Within seven months, in January 1556, he met a fatal accident on the steps of his library in the fortress at Delhi. Percival Spear writes in his book *A History of India*, “At this time the Mughal position was as insecure as Babur’s had been on his occupation of Agra thirty years before. Several opposing forces were in being and the Mughals could not claim the unity of a foreign clan. The struggle was in no sense one of foreigners against natives; there was no tincture of nationalism to be seen. Essentially it was the rivalry of different aristocratic groups separated only partially by differences of clan and race. They shared the same Islamic religion, and the same Persian cultural veneer, and the same personal ambition. The last was the strongest of the three, and it was this fact which made any noble liable to change sides at any moment.”⁸²

Akbar ascend the throne at the age of thirteen years and it was under him that the Mughal empire became a political fact over half of India and a factor in the life of India which has influenced her ever since.⁸³ His first and the hardest campaign was against the Rajputs, who remained formidable though divided as ever. The nearest state of Jaipur was first won over, and in 1568-69 the two great fortresses of Chittor and Ranthambore were captured. Fertile Gujrat with its cotton and indigo was first secured in 1572, bringing with it the port of Surat with its trade with Arabia, the Persian Gulf and Egypt. Bengal the richest province in the north with its abundance of

81 Henry George Keene, *The Turks in India; Critical Chapters on the Administration of that Country By The Chughtai, Babur, and His Descendants*, Delhi, 2009, p. 40. He writes, “The Emperor himself was young and inexperienced, with the heavy disadvantage of having been born in the purple.”

82 Percival Spear, *Op.cit.*, p. 29.

83 *Ibid*, p. 30

rice, silk and saltpetre, was acquired in 1574-76. Kashmir followed in 1586, Orissa in 1592 and Sind in 1595.

Then began the attacks on the Deccan kingdoms which by Akbar's death had absorbed Berar, Khandesh and part of Ahmednagar. By the time of his death in 1605 Akbar controlled abroad sweep of territory from the Bay of Bengal to Kandhar and Badakhshan. He touched the Western sea in Sind and at Surat and was well astride Central India. He had the richest and most vigorous as well as the largest territorial share of India and the North West. His empire was balanced by the Persian Empire on the Iranian Plateau, itself preoccupied with the Ottoman Turkish Empire beyond, and there was no one else whose power was comparable. He had a ready made supply of hardy recruits from the north-west attracted by the hope of fame and their own poverty; he had the resources of Bengal and the profits of Middle Eastern trade to sustain him and a central organisation to maintain his control.⁸⁴

Unlike his father, Jahangir was not a great general, a great organizer or a great builder. Much of his energy was devoted to the courtly culture of the Mughals. The court with its great palace and household and the satellite palaces of the great nobles were glittering ornaments of life in the capital. Court ceremonial and conspicuous display served to impress all those in submission to the Timurid ruler.⁸⁵ Jahangir did not build a new capital but treated Agra as the imperial centre. For extended periods to meet urgent strategic concerns, he moved from Agra to Kabul, Ajmer or Mandu and the great encampment became temporary imperial headquarters. The emperor devoted his creative energies to a number of building projects indelibly stamped by his own pronounced aesthetic sensibility.⁸⁶ Under him, Mughals added Kangra in their territory by subjugating the Raja of Kangra in 1618.⁸⁷

At his accession, Shah Jahan, the dominant ruler on the subcontinent, controlled vast territories, unmatched military power, and massive wealth. He established his capital at Agra in the great fortress built by Akbar. Agra remained the capital until 1648 when the court, army and household moved to the newly completed imperial capital,

84 *Ibid*, p. 31

85 J.F Richards, *Op.cit.*, p. 100.

86 *Ibid*.

87 *Ibid*, p. 110.

Shah Jahanabad, at Delhi. Like the man, Shah Jahan's new city was appropriate to a more formal, more forbidding, and grand monarchy and empire.⁸⁸ Under him, the Mughal dominions stretched from Sind in the far north-west to Sylhet on the Brahmaputra and from newly conquered Balkh south to the southern boundary of the Deccan province. There were twenty two provinces in his empire and so extensive was the empire that many large *parganas* in Agra or Lahore provinces generated revenue collections each year of more than one million rupees.⁸⁹ J. F Richards writes that Shah Jahan had spent 25 million rupees in the construction of grand buildings such as *masjids*, palaces, Forts, tombs, hunting retreats, and gardens in Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Kabul, and other parts of the empire.⁹⁰ Under Shah Jahan, there were four highest ranking nobles in the empire, which were Ali Mardan Khan, Zafar Jung, Islam Khan, and Sa'adullah Khan who held 7,000 Zat and 7,000 suwar. Out of these, two were of Iranian in origin and one Turani (Central Asian).⁹¹

The reign of Aurangzeb really divides in two almost equal portions. The first twenty three years were largely a continuation of Shah Jahan's administration with an added note of austerity. Marathas, Jats, tribesmen in the far north-west were all kept in order. The emperor sat in Delhi or progressed instate to Kashimr. From 1681 he virtually transferred his capital to the Deccan where he spent the rest of his life in camp, superintending the overthrow of the two remaining Deccan kingdoms in 1686-87 and trying fruitlessly to crush the Maratha rebellion. The assured administrator of the first period became the embattled old man of the second.⁹²

88 *Ibid*, p.119

89 *Ibid*, p. 138.

90 *Ibid*, 139.,

91 *Ibid*, p. 144.

92 Percival spear, *Op.cit.*, p. 56.

THEIR SETTLEMENTS AT THE PLACES OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE-

North West region of India has been called as scientific frontier of India as various invaders, scholars, artists, adventurers had come to India from this side. So the guarding of this frontier had acquired a paramount importance under various Mughal rulers. In this region, there were three important *Subas*-Kabul, Multan and Lahore. Kabul, was occupied by Humayun in 1553 after an eight year war between Humayun and Kamran for dominance in Afganistan.⁹³ During the period of Bairam Khan's regency, Mughal armies occupied Lahore and seized Multan in Punjab. An important consideration in this period was the busy overland caravan trade. The overland route from Kabul through the Khybar pass and Peshawar fed the markets of Lahore with horses from Central Asia, fruits, silks and porcelain (from China), precious metals and many other valuable commodities. Indian spices, textiles and other goods travelled outward in a lucrative commerce that sent Indian merchants into the markets of Central Asia and Iran. The Punjab was a major industrial centre in which thousands of weavers produced specialised cotton cloth for various markets in Central Asia, the Middle East, and beyond.⁹⁴ Here the caravan trade was vulnerable to banditry or even complete blockage by the Afghan tribes.⁹⁵

Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, was the first line of defense against an assault over the northwest passes from Afghanistan or Central Asia- the classic invasion route.⁹⁶ Under Akbar, it were mostly Turanis who were given administrative assignments in the *suba* of Lahore so much so that the clan of *Atkas* became somewhat settled in Punjab. The *subah* of Lahore contains 8 populated regions- the area of Lahore, *Sarkar*

93 J. F Richards, *Op.cit.*, p. 11.

94 *Ibid*, p. 50.

95 *Ibid*.

96 *Ibid*, p. 28

of Jalandhar, *Sarkar* of Batalah, Pati Haibatpur, *Sarkar* of Parsaror, *Sarkar* of Sialkot, *Sarkar* of Hazarah.⁹⁷

When after conquering Delhi, Humayun distributed *jagirs* to his officers, the sarkar of Hissar Firoza and its neighbouring *parganas* were assigned to Akbar. Shamsuddin was also assigned a *jagir* in that region. He was with Akbar at the time of Humayun's death.⁹⁸ Later in 1557, Shamsuddin and his relations seem to have granted *jagirs* in the Punjab.⁹⁹ For the next three years, Shamsuddin seems to have served in Punjab and have held Bhera in *Jagir*. But the subsequent events suggested that the *Atkas* and the group of Maham Anga continued to work in close cooperation until Akbar dismissed Bairam Khan from office of *wakil*. Shamsuddin was now summoned to court, ordered to proceed immediately to Lahore, assume charge of that city, and then leaving his elder brother Mir Muhammad there, come to Delhi. At his arrival Shamsuddin was warmly received and awarded the standard and *tuman togh* previously held by Bairam Khan. He was also entrusted with the government of Punjab. He was given the command of expedition against Bairam Khan, despite the opposition of Maham Anga and his associates, who urged the Emperor to lead the campaign personally. After the victory over Bairam Khan, choicest parts of Punjab were assigned to Shamsuddin and his kinsmen.¹⁰⁰

During the time when Shamsuddin was attacked and murdered by Adham Khan, the whole of Atka clan held all their *jagirs* in the Punjab; and Shamsuddin's brother, Mir Muhammad, was the governor of that province.¹⁰¹ In 1568, as Akbar's mind was free of the anxieties regarding Uzbeks rebels, he transferred the Atka Khail from the province of Punjab as he became conscious of this family's acquisition of power in

97 Abul Fazl, *The Ain-i-Akbari, Vol II-III*, Tr. by H. Blochmann, New Delhi, rpt, 2006, pp.119, 120.

98 Afzal Hussain, *Op.cit.*, p. 47.

99 *Ibid.*

100 *Ibid.* pp. 48, 49.

101 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Delhi, 1965, p. 3

the Punjab. While discussing this measure, Abul Fazl remarks that, 'Whenever a large body is gathered together of one mind and one speech, and shows much push and energy, it is proper to disperse them firstly for their own good, and secondly, for the welfare of the community'. Akbar himself is reported to have said later that they have grown quite powerful, and he considered their transfer from the Punjab as one of his greatest achievements. Moreover, during Mir Muhammad's stay in Kabul and at the time of Mirza Hakim's invasion of Punjab, according to Abul Fazl, 'wonderful stories had been told about these loyal men'. However Afzal Hussain writes that there is no actual indication of any disloyal action on their part.¹⁰² The *Atkas* were summoned to court and fresh assignments were given to them. Mir Muhammad, Qutbuddin Khan and Sharif Khan were assigned Sambhal, Malwa and Kanaul respectively. Mirza Aziz Koka's *jagir* of Dipalpur was, however not transferred. Mir Muhammad was transferred to Nagaur in 1570. This shows that when fresh appointments were given, the *Atkas* were deliberately so posted as to be placed at a distance from each other. Akbar himself says that they were spread all over the empire 'like the constellation of the Bear in the sky'.¹⁰³ The dispersal of *Atkas* from Punjab naturally affected the power and prestige of the family. But Mirza Aziz Koka, the playmate of Akbar, apparently continued to be in favour as his *jagir* was not transferred.¹⁰⁴

Besides *Atkas*, various other Turani nobles like Said Khan, Qulij Khan spent many years in governing the region of Lahore, however the only Irani who was appointed in this region was Shamsuddin Khawafi.¹⁰⁵ He died at Lahore in 1600-1601. The family vault which he had built near Hasan Abdal having been used for other purposes, he

102 *Ibid*, pp. 52, 53.

103 *Ibid*, p. 53.

104 *Ibid*, p. 53.

105 Abul Fazl, 1965, *Op.cit.*, p. 495. "When Akbar in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Punjab, moved to Agra to proceed to Dakhin, the *Begims* with Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) were left in Lahore, and Shams was put in charge of the Punjab, in which office he continued, after Akbar's mother had returned, in the 44th year with the *Begams* to Agra.

was buried in Lahore in that quarter of town which he had built, and which to his honour was called *Khawafipura*.¹⁰⁶

Under Jahangir, Turanis like Said Khan, Qulij Khan and Iranis like Qasim Khan, Sadiq Khan were posted in this region, however the only family which holds this region for a considerable period of time was the family of Itimad-ud-daula. He was stationed in this region for approximately six years, i.e. from 1615-16 to 1622-23.¹⁰⁷ Later his son Asaf Khan was also stationed in this region and he continued to govern this region under Shah Jahan too. This family was so much settled in this region that the prominent members of this family, i.e. Itimad ud Daula, Yamin ud Daula Asaf Khan and Nur Jahan Begum were buried at Lahore.¹⁰⁸

Similarly in Kabul too, Iranis and Turanis were appointed. Regarding the *Sarkar* of Kabul, Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, “It is bounded on the east by Hindustan; on the north-west by the mountains and Ghor; between to the north lies Anderab of Badakshan and the Hindu koh intervening; on the south by *Farmul* and *Naghr*.”¹⁰⁹ He further writes, “The Hindu koh separates Kabul from Badakshan and Balkh, and seven routes are employed by the people of Turan in their marches to and fro.”¹¹⁰ Under Akbar, various Turanis were posted in this region for instance Qasim Khan was posted as governor of Kabul in the 34th year of Akbar’s reign after his resignation from the appointment at Kashmir. He remained in this region for 5 years i.e. from 1589-90 to 1593-94.¹¹¹ Abul Fazl has given a very interesting event about his

106 *Ibid*, p. 495.

107 M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire; Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, Delhi, 1985, p. xxxv.

108 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 331. “She was buried in the mausoleum which she erected during her life time to the West of the enclosure containing the remains of the late Emperor Jahangir, near the tomb of Yamin ud Daula Asaf Khan, the *Khan-i-Khanan* and commander-in-chief.

109 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 2006, p. 404.

110 *Ibid*, 405.

111 M. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. xxxiii.

governorship that a young man from Andijan, pretending to be the son of Shahrukh, entered Akbar's territories giving out that he was going to pay respects to the Emperor. But Hasim Beg, Qasim's son, who officiated during the absence of his father, sent a detachment after the pretender, who now threw himself on the Hazaras. But Hashim Beg followed him and took him a prisoner to Kabul. Qasim on his return from India, let him off and even allowed him to enter his service. Later on this pretender murdered Qasim Khan.¹¹² An Irani who remained in Kabul for a very long time was Zain Khan Koka who remained stationed in this region for five years.¹¹³ Zain Khan moved into the district of Bajor (north of *Peshwa*) and punished the *Yusufzais*.¹¹⁴ He also operated successfully against the *Mahmudis* and *Ghoris* near Peshawar, who under the Chief Jalaluddin Rawshani had committed numerous predations.¹¹⁵

Under Jahangir, three persons hold this region for a considerable of time. They were Khan-i-Dauran, Mahabat Khan, and Khwaja Abul Hasan.¹¹⁶ Under him, Mirza Amanullah Khan-Zaman was also distinguished with the governorship of Kabul.¹¹⁷ Yalang-tosh Uzbek who was the chief of the Khans of Turan, having collected an army more in number than ants and locusts, attacked Kabul, Khan-i-Zaman having relied upon the daily increasing fortune of the king, rushed to face and oppose him. A severe battle ensued and perforce Yalang-tosh, considering retreat a boon, turned his face to flight.¹¹⁸ Under Shah Jahan, it were Said Khan, a Turani and Ali Mardan

112 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p. 413.

113 M.Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. xxxiii

114 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p. 367.

115 *Ibid*, p. 368.

116 When the son of Abul Hasan, Mirza Ahsanullah became the governor of Kabul province on behalf of his father, he became the dominant partner of Nawwab Nur Jahan Begam in the overthrow of Mahabat Khan. Nur Jahan Begam carried the task ahead through his advice and counsel.

117 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 90.

118 *Ibid*.

Khan¹¹⁹ who were stationed in this region for a long time. It was due to the efforts of Said Khan that the Qandhar was wrested from the Persians, as it is written in *Shah Jahan nama*, "Through the exertions of Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang, governor of Kabul, the affairs of Qandhar had been put to rights and all the forts of that region reduced. Subsequently, in conformity to orders, Sa'id Khan had delivered the territory of Bust with its dependencies to 'Izzat Khan Tukaria; that of Zamindawar to Mirza Muhammad; and the province of Qandhar to Qilij Khan."¹²⁰ Arsalan Bey Uzbek Shamshir Khan, an elite from Turan, after losing favour from the Shah Jahan, he settled down at Lahore where he died.¹²¹

Similarly in Multan too, they were appointed. *Suba* of Multan consist of *Sarkar* of Dipalpur.¹²² Sadiq Khan(I) in 1585-86 was appointed to Multan and in that position he bring Rawshanis into obedience with much tact and firmness.¹²³ Mirza Khan Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* was given Multan as Jagir in the end of 34th year of Akbar's reign.¹²⁴ Here Mirza Abdur Rahim compelled Mirza Jani Beg to submit and

119 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 275. "On 2 February 1641, Ali Mardan Khan was invested with the government of Kabul, in the place of Sa'id Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang. In addition to this new appointment, he was also munificently presented with a handsome robe of honour with gold-embroidered vest; a jeweled dagger with incised ornament; two fine horses, one with golden, the other with gilt saddle and an elephant with silver housings, accompanied by a female one. Moreover, his *mansab* of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawar* was further enhanced by an increase of 2,000 in the *suwar* category being converted to *do-aspa* and *sih aspa*, thus making a total of 5,000 in this new designation."

120 *Ibid*, p.253. For a detailed account of the victory of Said Khan over the forces of Siyawash, the commander-in-chief of Iran, see p. 226.

121 Shaikh farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 106.

122 Abul Fazl, 2006, *Op.cit.*, p. 121.

123 Abul Fazl, *Op cit.*, 1965, p. 383. Also see M. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. xxxix.

124 *Ibid*, p. 356. "Towards the end of the same year, he was appointed *Vakil* and received Jaunpur as *tuyul*; but in 999 his *jagir* was transferred to Multan, and he received orders to take Thatta (Sind)."

accompanied him to Mughal court leading to the final annexation of Sind.¹²⁵ Mirza Aziz in 1004 received Multan as *Jagir*.¹²⁶

Under Jahangir, it was Baqir Khan who was stationed in Multan for eight years. Regarding him, Shaikh Farid writes in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin*, “After sundry services, he was sent to Multan where he made his name in greatness, dignity and majesty. He maintained a large contingent and exacted tribute from the *Baluchis*, *Dudais*, and *Nahars* who live in large numbers (In the area) between Qandhar and Multan.¹²⁷ Mirza Anwar, too was posted as governor of Bhakkar.¹²⁸ During his governorship of Bhakkar, “there was scarcity of rain and lack of flow of the river Punjab (i.e. Indua). The *Mirza*, under the guidance of the *Zamindars* of that place, put on the dress of cultivators and started driving the plough with his own hand and his wife, the daughter of Zain Khan Koka, like rustic women carrying the jowar-bread and yoghurt on head, took the meals to her husband. At that very moment, by the generosity of the glorified lord, it rained heavily and the river Punjab was in spate. He left a good name in Sind.”¹²⁹ Muhammah Hussain too had done much good in the Bhakkar territory.¹³⁰ He raided the Samejas and married the daughter of the chief of

125 *Ain*, p. 356. “Passing by the fort of Sehwan, he took the fort of Lakhi, ‘which was considered the key of the country, just as Gadhi is in Bengal and Baramullah in Kashmir.’ After a great deal of fighting Mirza Jani Beg, ruler of Thatha, made peace which M. A., being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted. Sahwan was to be handed over to Akbar, M. Jani Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and M. Irich, M. A., eldest son, was to marry Jani Beg’s daughter. But as Jani Beg, after the rains, delayed to carry out the stipulations, M. Aziz moved to Thatta and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M. Jani Beg submitted and accompanied M. A. to court.”

126 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p. 345

127 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 87.

128 *Ibid*, p. 117.

129 *Ibid*, p. 117.

130 He was brother of Baquir Khan *Najm-i-thani*, they came to India from Iran.

the Samejas tribe.¹³¹ In the reign of Jahangir, Quj-ali, a Turani had in his fief the Siwi and Gunjaba pargana in the dependancies of Bhakkar.¹³² He governed well in the hilly tract inhabited by Baluchis and Afghans; killed so many men that if a child were to cry, the Afghans would say (to him) in their dialect, *Quch Ali Raghali* (i.e. Quch-ali has come); the child would immediately stop crying out of terror. he had no equal in cruelty and fearlessness.¹³³

Bengal too was an area of strategic importance. This *Suba* is bounded on the east by the sea, on the north and south by mountains and on the west by the Subah of Behar.¹³⁴ The *Subah* of Bengal consists of 24 *Sarkars* and 787 *Mahals*. The *Sarkars* are- Udambar, also known as Tanda, Jannatabad or Lakhnauti, Fathabad, Mahmudabad;Khalifatabad; Bakla; Purniyah, Tajpur, Ghoraghat, Pinjarah, Barbakabad, Bazuha, Sonargaon, Sylhet, Chittagong, Sharifabad, Sulaimanabad, Satgaon, Mandaran.¹³⁵ Later on when Orissa was also added this subah, then Sarkars of Jalesar, Bhadrak, Katak, Kaling dandpat, Raj Mahendrih were also added to this Subah.¹³⁶ It were mostly Turanis like Aziz Koka (1580-81 to 1584-85) and Said Khan (1587-88 to 1593-94) were appointed at Bengal under Akbar. When disturbances broke out in Bengal and Bihar, Aziz was promoted to a command of five thousand, got the title of *Azam Khan*, and was despatched with a large army to quell

131 *Ibid*, p. 125.”From her was born Mirza Tihmurath. Now in Akbarabad, Mirza Tihmurth, son of Mirza Hussaini and Mirza Sanjar son of Mirza Muhammad Jafar receive daily stipends and lived there along with their father’s family.”

132 *Ibid*, p.140. Quj-ali and Burj-ali were two brothers. They were pure (i.e. thorough bred Turkmen serving) in the victorious army.

133 *Ibid*, p. 141. He had two large iron pans (karah) filled with water and fire kindled beneath them. Any thief or a culprit, he would tie his hand and feet and throw him into pan; he would immediately get roasted in that boiling water. He must have dispatched nearly one thousand persons of that region to the road of non-existence in this way.

134 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 2006, p. 130. “This *subah* is situated in the second clime.Its length from Chittagong to Garhi is four hundred *kos*. Its breadth from the northern range of mountains to the southern frontier of the *Sarkar* of Mandaran, is two hundred *kos*, and when the country of Orissa was added to this *Subah*, the additional length was forty-three *kos* and the breadth twenty-three.”

135 *Ibid*, pp. 141-155.

136 *Ibid*, pp. 155-158.

the rebellion. His time was fully utilised in establishing order in Bihar. Later on when during Aziz's absence from Bihar, the Bengal rebels had occupied Hajipur opposite Patna; then Aziz was again sent to Bihar with orders to move into Bengal. After collecting the *tuyuldars* of Illahabad, Audh and Bihar, he occupied Garhi, the "key" of Bengal. After several minor fights with the rebels under Ma'sum-i-Kabuli, and Majnun Khan Qaqshal, Aziz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Masum to withdraw.¹³⁷ Said Khan (T) was also stationed at Bengal for a considerable long period of time i.e. from 1587-88 to 1593-94, however nothing remarkable is known about him during this governorship. In 1575, Munim Khan died and then Khan Jahan was recalled from Punjab and appointed to Bengal to deal with the Afghans under Daud Khan. Regarding him, Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, "Khan Jahan very efficiently defeated Daud Khan, captured him and sent his head to Akbar. After this great victory, Khan Jahan moved to Satgaw (Hugli) where Daud's family lived. Here he defeated the remnants of Daud's adherents under Jamshed and Mitti, and reannexed Satgaw, which since the days of old had been called Bulghakkhana, to the Mughal empire. He also defeated the Afghans under Karim dad Ibrahim, and the rich Zamindar Isa of Bhatti. He had founded a town named Sihhatpur, near Tanda. Soon after he fell ill and died there in 986."¹³⁸

Under Jahangir, it were mainly Iranis who were stationed in this region, for instance Qasim Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Asaf Khan, Mahabat Khan. Regarding Ibrahim Khan, Jahangir writes in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that he as governor of Bengal was presented with a sword by him and further writes, "Ibrahim Khan constructed two boats which in the language of the country they call *koshba*, one of gold and the other of silver, and sent them to me by way of offering. Undoubtedly, of their own kind they are the finest."¹³⁹ Later on Ibrahim Khan had also sent him a diamond which he had obtained from the

137 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit*, 1965, p. 344.

138 *Ibid*, pp. 350, 351.

139 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p. 90.

Bengal mine.¹⁴⁰ In 1623, Ibrahim Khan *Fath Jung* as governor of Bengal has sent thirty four elephants by way of offering to Jahangir.¹⁴¹

Under Shah Jahan, it were mainly Iranis who were appointed in Bengal for a considerable period of time for instance, Qasim Khan Juweni from 1627-28 to 1631-32, Islam Khan form 1634-35 to 1638-39.¹⁴² Regarding Qasim Khan, Inayat Khan writes in *Shahjahannama* that in the 1632, Qasim khan as governor of Bengal presented offerings which consisted of 33 elephants, 27 horses which are peculiar to that part of the country, 100 shields, and 40 mounds of lignum aloes, besides various choice and precious articles- the total value which exceeded two lakhs of rupees.¹⁴³ Regarding Bengal, Inayat Khan further writes that under the previous rulers of Bengal, a company of *Firangi* merchants living in Serandib (Ceylon) starting coming to Satgaon for purposes of trade. With the passage of time, they became somewhat settled in this region and established strong and substantial houses and fortified them with canon and matchlocks and other instruments of war. At length the *Farangis* residing at Bandar Hughli gained control of all the villages and *parganas* surrounding the port on both sides of the estuary, paying only a trifling rent to the government. They then began converting the inhabitants of that locality to Christianity, partly by force and partly by persuasion, and shipped them off to their own settlements. This disgraceful system of kidnapping was carried on exclusively amongst the inhabitants of the places they rented, for they used to seize and carry off any people of the *parganas* bordering on the sea coast that they could lay hands on. These circumstances had been brought to the notice of Shah Jahan who earnestly exhorted Qasim Khan to use his utmost exertion to suppress these heretics and demolish their places of worship and dwellings. Thus in 1632, Qasim Khan set a crusade against these infidels¹⁴⁴ as a result of which about 10,000 of them died, total of 4,400

140 *Ibid*, p. 167.

141 *Ibid*, p. 261.

142 Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. xxxvii

143 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 77.

144 *Ibid*, p. 85

Farangis were taken prisoners and about 10,000 inhabitants of the surrounding *parganas*, who had been kept in subjection by these infidels regained their liberty.¹⁴⁵ “Thus in place of the tolling of the heretics bell, the sound of praises and thanksgiving now arose from the true believers.”¹⁴⁶

Under Aurangzeb, it were Iranis like Mir Jumla, Shaista Khan, Ibrahim Khan were appointed at Bengal. Shaista Khan was appointed the *Subehdar* of Bengal upon the death of Mir Jumla II in 1663. As governor, he encouraged trade with Europe, Southeast Asia and other parts of India. he consolidated his power by signing trade agreements with European powers. Despite his powerful position he remained loyal to Aurangzeb, often mediating trade disputes and rivalries. He undertook many construction projects at Dhaka. He encouraged the construction of modern townships and public works in Dhaka, leading to massive Urban and economic expansion. He encouraged the construction of majestic monuments across the province, including mosques, mausoleums and palaces. He expanded Lalbagh Fort, Chowk Bazaar mosque, Saat Masjid and Choto Katra. He also supervised the construction of the mausoleum for his daughter Bibi Pari. The Shaista Khan Mosque,¹⁴⁷ built by him on his palace grounds, incorporate unique elements of Bengali and Mughal architecture.

Qaqshals for a long time remain at Goraghat as during the Munim Khan’s expedition to Bengal, the Qaqshals received extensive *jagirs* in Ghoraghat. Majnun Khan—i-Qaqshal, in the 17th year of Akbar, accompanied Munim Khan to Gorakhpur. After taking Gorakhpur, Munim Khan sent him to Goraghat. Kala Pahar, Sulaiman Mankali and Baba Mankali. On the death of Sulaiman Mankali, the acknowledged ruler of Goraghat, a great number of the principal Afghan nobles were caught, and M. with a

145 For the detailed campaign, see the *Shahjahan nama*, pp. 85,86,87.

146 *Ibid*, p. 87.

147 It is supposed to be built between 1663 and 1678, the first viceroyalty of Khan. During the British period the mosque was seriously damaged by an accidental fire. Recently the mosque has been repaired and has lost its original look. An old inscription in Persian fixed over the doorway still stands today, declaring that Shaista Khan erected the mosque.

view of securing peace, married the daughter of Sulaiman Mankali to his son Jabari. He also parcelled out the whole country among his clan of Qaqshals.¹⁴⁸

RELATION OF IRANIS AND TURANIS WITH PEOPLE OF THOSE AREAS-

When appointed, Iranis and Turanis not only governed those areas, but had to deal with the local people of these areas and eventually establish relations with them. For instance, Under Jahangir, it was Baqir Khan who was stationed in Multan for eight years. Regarding him, Shaikh Farid writes in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin*, “After sundry services, he was sent to Multan where he made his name in greatness, dignity and majesty. He maintained a large contingent and exacted tribute from the *Baluchis*, *Dudais*, and *Nahars* who live in large numbers (In the area) between Qandhar and Multan.”¹⁴⁹ Mirza Anwar, too was posted as governor of Bhakkar.¹⁵⁰ During his governorship of Bhakkar, “there was scarcity of rain and lack of flow of the river Punjab (i.e. Indus). The *Mirza*, under the guidance of the *Zamindars* of that place, put on the dress of cultivators and started driving the plough with his own hand and his wife, the daughter of Zain Khan Koka, like rustic women carrying the jowar-bread and yoghurt on head, took the meals to her husband. At that very moment, by the generosity of the glorified lord, it rained heavily and the river Punjab was in spate. He left a good name in Sind.”¹⁵¹

Muhammah Hussain too had done much good in the Bhakkar territory.¹⁵² He raided the *Samejas* and married the daughter of the chief of the *Samejas* tribe.¹⁵³ In the reign

148 *Ibid*, p. 400. But Baba Mankali and Kala Pahar had taken refuge in Kuch Bihar and when Munim Khan was in Katak, they were joined by the sons of Jalaluddin Sur and fell upon the Qaqshals. The latter without fighting, cowardly returned to Tanda, and waited for Munim, who on his return from Orissa, sent them reinforcements to Goraghat. The qaqshals re-occupied the district. Majnun soon after died at Goraghat.

149 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit*, p. 87.

150 *Ibid*, p. 117.

151 *Ibid*, p. 117.

152 He was brother of Baqir Khan *Najm-i-thani*, they came to India from Iran.

of Jahangir, Quj-ali, a Turani had in his fief the Siwi and Gunjaba pargana in the dependancies of Bhakkar.¹⁵⁴ He governed well in the hilly tract inhabited by Baluchis and Afghans; killed so many men that if a child were to cry, the Afghans would say (to him) in their dialect, *Quch ali raghali* (i.e. Quch-ali has come); the child would immediately stop crying out of terror. he had no equal in cruelty and fearlessness.¹⁵⁵

Mirza Aziz Koka was twice appointed to the governorship of Gujrat. During his second term of governorship, he moved against the Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat and defeated him. He then reduced Jam and the other *Zamindars* of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Somnath and sixteen other harbour towns. Jaunagarh also, the capital of the ruler of Sorath, submitted to him and Mirza Khan and Taj Khan, sons of Daulat Khan ibn-I Amin Khan-i-Ghori, joined the Mughals. Aziz gave both of them *jagirs*. He had now leisure to hunt down Sultan Muzaffar, who had taken refuge with Sultan Muzaffar, who had taken refuge with the *Zamindar* of Dwarka. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muzaffar fled to Kachh, followed by Aziz. There also the *Zamindars* submitted, and soon after delivered Sultan Muzaffar into his hands.¹⁵⁶ Under the reign of Jahangir too, Mirza Aziz was appointed to Gujrat and later on he died at Ahmedabad.¹⁵⁷

Mirza Abdur Rahim was in 1576 appointed to Gujrat and was sent against Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat. Mirza defeated Muzaffar in the battle of Sarkich and when Gujrat was finally conquered, *Khan-i-Khanan* gave his whole property to his soldiers,

153 *Ibid*, p. 125. "From her was born Mirza Tihmurath. Now in Akbarabad, Mirza Tihmurth son of Mirza Hussaini and Mirza Sanjar son of Mirza Muhammad Jafar receive daily stipends and lived there along with their father's family."

154 *Ibid*, p.140. Quj-ali and Burj-ali were two brothers. They were pure (i.e. thorough bred Turkmen serving) in the victorious army.

155 *Ibid*, p. 141. He had two large iron pans (*karah*) filled with water and fire kindled beneath them. Any thief or a culprit, he would tie his hand and feet and throw him into pan; he would immediately get roasted in that boiling water. He must have dispatched nearly one thousand persons of that region to the road of non-existence in this way.

156 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p. 344

157 *Ibid*, p. 346.

even his ink stand, which was given to a soldier who came last and said that he had not received anything.¹⁵⁸

Similarly in Kashmir too, Irani and Turani nobles worked for the betterment of the local people. Regarding Kashmir, Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, “A country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Delhi. Though six or seven roads lead into Kashmir, the passes are all so narrow that a few old men might repel a large army.”¹⁵⁹ Under Akbar, this region was brought into Mughal rule and it was a Turani Qasim Khan who was sent to achieve that purpose. However as Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, “The Kashmiris, however, are famous for love of mischief and viciousness, and not a day passed without disturbances breaking out in some part of the country.”¹⁶⁰ So Qasim Khan tired of the incessant petty annoyances, resigned his appointment. After him, it were mainly Iranis who were appointed to Kashmir for instance Mirza Yusuf Khan who was appointed there in 1586-87 and he remained there for 5 years, Khwaja Shamsuddin, and Jafar Beg Asaf Khan.¹⁶¹ Mirza Yusuf who was sent to Kashmir as ruler in 32nd year, was much liked by the people of Kashmir. He had made the assessment of revenue of Kashmir to be 22 lacs *kharwars*, which was 2 lacs more than before.¹⁶² Later on when Akbar increased the revenue assessment of Kashmir, M. Yusuf Khan refused to remain in Kashmir, and the country was made *Khalisa*.¹⁶³ Some time after Prince Salim Request, Mirza Yusuf was reinstated. Later on in the 39th year Asaf Khan was sent to Kashmir, after the recalling of M. Yusuf Khan. He re-distributed the lands of *Jagir* holders of whom Ahmad Beg Kabuli, Muhammad Quli Afshar and Hasan Arab were the most important. The cultivation of Za ‘faran and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qazi ‘Ali, i.e. at one lakh of

158 *Ibid*, p.355.

159 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p. 412.

160 *Ibid*.

161 M. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. xxxiii

162 *Ain*, p. 370. For this sum, Akbar handed over Kashmir to M. Y. Khan.

163 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, pp. 370 and 371.

kharwars, at 24 dams each. Asaf stayed only for three days in Kashmir, and returned to Lahore. In the 42nd year, when Kashmir had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the *Jagir* holders, Asaf Khan was made governor of the province.¹⁶⁴

The brother of Qasim Khan, Hashim Khan too received the fief of Kashmir under Akbar. Regarding him, Shaikh Farid mentions in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin* “A disease affected him there and the illness prolonged. Physicians were helpless in treating it. The night when he would move from this world to the eternal one, he paid the dues of the soldiers and retailers on outside and inside (duties) to their satisfaction and distributed alms to *derwishes* of that places; he showed to his companions every type of consideration that was required; and he got erected *pandals* with lavish spreads at a number of places and held assemblies of saintly people, expending abundant food and many perfumes. He then first held a party of musicians and making them happy (with lavish gifts) bade them farewell. Then, gladdening the heart of his companions, he sent them out. Then going to the inner apartments, he took final leave of (his wives) consoling each one of them. After that, making the big and small persons of the city happy and giving expense-money to *darwishes*, those in charge of *khanqah* as well as those moving about in streets he held a meeting with the learned and the *hafiz* and he himself started reciting the Quran and did not utter a single word about worldly affairs. A watch was still left of the night when the state of death-agony set in; reciting the *kalma* (First Creed), he bade farewell to this transitory world in the prime of youth and beginning of his career.¹⁶⁵

During the reign of Shah Jahan, Zafar Khan was posted in Kashmir from 6th regnal year and continued upto the 11th year. He again was posted in the 16th regnal year and continued upto 21st year. During his governorship of Kashmir, he laid out a garden in Kashmir called *Bagh-i-Zafarabad* and Shah Jahan in 1645, had paid a visit to this garden.¹⁶⁶ Commenting on this garden, Inayat Khan writes in *Shahjahannama*, “*Bagh-i-Zafarabad*, which was laid out by my father Zafar Khan on the margin of the

164 *Ibid.* p. 453.

165 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 103.

166 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 324.

Lake Jadibil overlooking the environs of the ‘*Idgah*. It costs three lakhs of rupees, and was constructed during the twelve years that he held the government of Kashmir. The Bagh-i-Husnabad was also planted by the Zafar Khan.”¹⁶⁷ Regarding Shah Jahan’s visit, to the Kashmir valley during the governorship of Kashmir, Inayat Khan further writes, “In as much as His majesty had readily perceived the happy conditions of the peasantry and inhabitants of that region under my father’s administration, he graciously bestowed one lakh of rupees on him out of the funds which were due to the royal estates and raised his *mansab*, by an increase of 1,000 *suwar* to 3,000 *zat* and a like number of *suwar*.¹⁶⁸ Ali Mardan Khan too was posted in this region under Shah Jahan as regarding his appointment, Inayat Khan writes in *Shahjahannama*, “On the 22nd Rajab 1048 (29th November 1638), His Majesty with extreme kindness appointed ‘Ali Mardan Khan- who was habituated to the climate of Iran and could not endure the burning heat of Hindustan-to replace Zafar Khan, the author’s father, as governor of the delightfully cool province of Kashmir, which can only be compared to Paradise.”¹⁶⁹

Under Shahjahan, Islam Khan was having *jagir* in the *pargana* of Anantnag.¹⁷⁰ Shah Jahan on his visit to this *pargana* ordered to demolish an ancient temple and as the *pargana* was in the *jagirdari* of Islam Khan, he gave the appellation of *Islamabad*. Under Jahangir, elegant edifices had been erected on this lovely spot as well, by Yamin al-Daula in conformity to the late Emperor’s instructions.¹⁷¹

Adham Khan, in the third year, was given *Hatkanth*, south-east of Agra as *Jagir*, by Bairam Khan to check the rebels of the *Bhadauria* clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble. Though he accused Bayram of partiality in

167 *Ibid*, p. 127.

168 *Ibid*, p. 324.

169 *Ibid*, p. 252. Also see p. 256. “On the 1st of Zil-Qada 1048 (6 March 1639), the sublime standards moved from the capital of Lahore towards Kabul; and at the first stage, ‘Ali Mardan Khan, after being loaded with favours received his dismissal to the pleasant valley of Kashmir.”

170 *Ibid*, p. 137. “At this place are two clear springs full of fish, which constitute the source of many other springs; and the late Emperor Jahangir’s reign, villas had been built in their vicinity.”

171 *Ibid*, p. 137.

bestowing bad jagirs upon such as he did not like, Adham did his best to keep down the *Bhadau-riyas*.¹⁷²

Under Jahangir, in 1612, *Khan-i-Khanan* was given *jagir* in the *souba* of Agra as it is written in *Padshahnama*, “For the *Khankhanan* I ordered a *jagir* given as salary in the *souba* of Agra in the *Sarkars* of Kannauj and Kalpi so that he could chastise and extirpate the rebels and insurgents of that area. As they were given leave to depart, they were given royal robes of honour, elephants and horses.”¹⁷³ Jahangir writes in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, “Since Itibar Khan is a servant of long tenure and has become very old, I honoured him with the governorship of the *souba* of Agra and assigned him the wardenship of the fortress and treasuries”.¹⁷⁴ After the death of Itimad ud daula, Nurjahan Jahan inherited his entire estate, and erected a wonderful pietra dura mausoleum at Agra, of white marble inlaid with rare stones, so that the cenotaph it encloses resembles a treasure chest. She also built a number of gardens, such as Nurafshan Garden on the north bank of the Jumna and the castle of Nur Mahal (1618-20).¹⁷⁵

Nasiri Khan was when appointed to Malwa, he received fief there only in Ujjain, Sarangpur, etc. regarding his appointment in Malwa, Shaikh Farid writes in *Zakhirat*, “It so happened that in the *Dakan* territory there was scarcity of grain and epidemic; a loaf of bread could be had for a soul. People of *Dakan* had to totally depend upon the grain from Malwa. Nasir Khan converted loads of grain into money. This service (of his) was liked by his Majesty, the viceregent of God and his closeness, position and

172 *Ibid*, p. 341.

173 *The Jahangirnama Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, translated, edited and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Oxford University Press, p.124.

174 *Ibid*, p. 378.

175 A.Schimmel, *Op.cit.*, p. 149.

respect increased further. Afterwards he was honoured with the title of *Khan-Dauran*.”¹⁷⁶

There were some Iranis and Turanis who were known for their destructive activities in the areas assigned to them for instance, Husayn Khan Tukaria, who during the reign of Akbar, was having *Jagir* in Lakhnauti, demolish rich temples. He had set his heart on the gold idols in the Doab region between the rivers Ganga and Yamuna. ‘He had all his life coveted this place and kept his eyes set upon it as mine of gold and silver imagining in his guileless heart....visions of golden and silver idol temples and bricks of gold and silver’.¹⁷⁷

Sometimes, areas given to Iranis and Turanis as *jagirs* were taken from them due to the complaints against them, for instance, Mirza Muzaffar Hussain, who came from Qandhar and joined Akbar, was well received by the latter and was given the title of *Farzand* and received Sambhal as *Jagir* which as Abul Fazl writes, “Which is worth than all Qandhar.”¹⁷⁸ But later on due to the complaints of *ryots* of his *jagir* against his grasping collectors, Akbar took away the *jagir* from him.¹⁷⁹

THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN CONQUERED AREAS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES IN TERMS OF SOCIAL LIFE-

They not only settled in these areas eventually, but also erected edifices of public and private importance and established social relations with the people of those areas. For instance Asaf Khan had built a beautiful palace at Lahore. Regarding his palace, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari writes in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin* “The mansions he built at Lahore and Akbarabad, as compared to them, the palaces of Caesar and Chosroes are (worth) a barley grain. On both of these, it is estimated that forty lakhs of rupees must

176 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 195. The Malwa mahals were for along time given as *tankhaw* (cash salary) in the fief of Khwaja Abul Hasan Turbati, the *diwan* who had, through promises and truth (with *ryots*) made the land prosperous. When he died, the country of Malwa was assigned to crown lands and afterwards, it was granted in fief to Nasiri Khan.

177 Harbans Mukhia, *Mughals of India*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 23.

178 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p. 328.

179 *Ibid*, p. 328.

have been spent.¹⁸⁰ Regarding his mansion, Inayat Khan writes in *Shah Jahan Nama*, “Included in the vast properties belonging to this illustrious noble were a mansion at Lahore; on which the enormous sum of 20 lakhs of rupees had been expended and the Serai that he had founded midway between Agra and Lahore.”¹⁸¹ Under Jahangir, Nur Jahan had built for herself a beautiful mausoleum in his beloved Lahore. Like her father’s mausoleum, it was laid out in the garden. Her own simple grave lies on the other side of Ravi, and is now separated from her brother Asaf Khan’s tomb by a railway line.¹⁸²

After the death of Itimad ud daula, Nurjahan Jahan inherited his entire estate, and erected a wonderful pietra dura mausoleum at Agra, of white marble inlaid with rare stones, so that the cenotaph it encloses resembles a treasure chest. She also built a number of gardens, such as Nurafshan Garden on the north bank of the Jumna and the castle of Nur Mahal (1618-20).¹⁸³

Regarding the mansions of Irani and Turani nobles, Shah Nawaz Khan writes in *Zakhirat ul Khwannin*, “The first ones who laid the foundation of mansions of a new pattern in Akbarabad are three; Khwaja Jahan Kabuli, the Bakhshi, Khwaja Waisi and Itiqad Khan. Of these, the most pleasing mansion with unique design was of that late one. Afterwards, thousands of mansions of new type were built by *amirs*.”¹⁸⁴ About him, Inayat Khan writes in *Shah Jahan nama*, “The mansion of Itiqad Khan was the finest of those superb edifices erected by the opulent nobility in the metropolis along the banks of Jumna”.¹⁸⁵ Similarly Musawi Khan, A *Sayyid* of Pure lineage, about whom Shah Nawaz Khan writes, “In the city of Akbarabad, eastwards on the bank of

180 Sheikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, Eng. Tr. Z.A. Desai, “Nobility Under The Great Mughals”, New Delhi, 2003, p. 10.

181 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 282. “In addition, he also left an estate valued at two crores and 50 lakhs of rupees (250 lakhs) in cash and goods, according to the following inventory: 30 lakhs worth of jewels; three lakhs of gold Mohurs equivalent to 42 lakhs of rupees; one crore and 25 lakhs of rupees in cash; 30 lakhs worth of gold and silver articles and 23 lakhs in other valuables.”

182 Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of great Mughals*, p. 149.

183 A.Schimmel, *Op.cit*, p. 149.

184 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit*, p. 69.

185 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit*, p. 299.

Jamuna, he constructed an extremely pleasing mansion.”¹⁸⁶ Hakim Baig, had made a flourishing garden in Akbarabad, near the nakhas (Cattle Market) which remained one of the garden of the paradise. There he busied himself in acquisition of Knowledge till he died of natural death.¹⁸⁷ It was Khwaja Waisi, an Iranian who first constructed the edifice of *hammam* inside a garden in his mansion on the bank of Yamuna in Akbarabad which was liked by all.¹⁸⁸

Mahdi Qasim Khan had a villa at Lahore which was called Bagh-i-Mahdi Qasim Khan.¹⁸⁹

Besides, these Iranis and Turanis also constructed canals for the welfare of general public. For instance, Ali Mardan Khan, during his governorship of Lahore, had brought a canal of flowing water from a distance of one hundred *kroh* into Shalemar garden which has been laid out by the Second lord of conjunction and again coming out from there, it meets the river; and on the bank of that canal many villages had prospered.¹⁹⁰ Regarding this canal, Shaikh Farid writes in *Zakhirat-ul-Khwannin*, “Of the good deeds which he did during the governorship of Lahore one was that he brought that canal of flowing water. Secondly, he arrested all the *darwishes* who never prayed nor fasted and who considered themselves above any (religious) restriction and who were responsible for dacoity, vice and immortality in excess and sent them to Kabul and cleared the world of the filth of those impure ones.”¹⁹¹ About this canal, Inayat Khan writes in *ShahJahannama*, “ In these days, ‘Ali Mardan Khan represented to His Majesty that there was an engineer in his service who possesses eminent skill in the art of constructing canals, and that he had proposed to undertake the excavation of one that would supply water to the suburbs of capital. Accordingly, one lakh of rupees, which was the sum estimated for the project was delivered over to Said Khan, whereupon the engineer commenced excavations for the canal at a point

186 Shaikh Farid,*op.ct*, p. 73.

187 *Ibid*, p. 101.

188 *Ibid*, p. 140.

189 Abul Fazl, 1965, *Op.cit*, p. 373.

190 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit*, p.199.

191 *Ibid..*

where the river flowing to Lahore breaks through the hills into the level country, and which is about 50 imperial *kos* distant from the city.”¹⁹²

Shihab Khan, a Sayyid Of Nishapur, was the governor of Delhi, in the first year of Emperor Akbar’s reign.¹⁹³ During his period of governorship of Delhi, he repaired the canal which Firuz Shah had cut from the Parganah of Khizrabad to Safidun; and called it *Nahr-i-Shihab*.¹⁹⁴ The canal was again repaired, at the order of Shah Jahan, by the renowned Makramat Khan, and called *Fayz Nahr*, (20th year of Shah Jahan). During the reign of Aurangzeb, it was again obstructed, but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English.¹⁹⁵

Sarais were also constructed by them for the welfare of general public. Qulij Khan had founded a number of *Sarais* from Multan to Lahore where there was absolutely no trace of *sarai* and in perilous places, he had wells and step wells of water made and watch posts established. The sacred mausoleum of his holiness Qutbul-aqtab Makhdum Sahikh Bahaud-din Zakaria Multani had extremely congested surroundings and in the interior of the mausoleum, the grave of *sajjadas* (spiritual successors) had left no (vacant) space. Qilij Khan made a wide and high mausoleum and purchasing houses of people situated all around (and demolished them), left an open space and turned it into an agreeable and pleasing spot.¹⁹⁶

192 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 262. Regarding this canal, Inayat Khan further writes that in the year 1642, “As a sufficient stream of water did not flow from the canal which had been completed under the direction of ‘Ali Mardan Khan’s servants at a cost of one lakh of rupees, another lakh of rupees was made over at different times to the engineers, in order that the water might be made to flow with the required volume. It chanced that through bad judgment, the engineers wasted 50,000 rupees of this sum to no purpose in trying to improve the old canal. Ultimately, at the suggestion of several learned specialists who possesses great engineering skill, use was made of only five kos of the canal line laid out by Ali Mardan Khan’s men; and a new channel 32 kos long was excavated, by which a plentiful supply of water reached the garden without any impediment.”

193 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Op.cit.*, Vol. II of part II, p. 846.

194 *Ibid*, p. 846.

195 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p. 353.

196 *Ibid*, p. 215.

Under Jahangir, Haji Koka, the mother of Mir-Miran, had constructed a lofty *sarai* on the *nala* (torrentbed) of Delhi and a bridge over it, whose edifice will endure for a very long time.¹⁹⁷

These Iranis and Turanis also laid out beautiful gardens in Mughal India. During his governorship of Kashmir, Zafar Khan laid out a garden in Kashmir called *Bagh-i-Zafarabad* and Shah Jahan in 1645, had paid a visit to this garden.¹⁹⁸ It costs three lakhs of rupees, and was constructed during the twelve years that he held the government of Kashmir. The Bagh-i-Husnabad was also planted by the Zafar Khan.¹⁹⁹ The Jami Masjid in Agra was built by Muzaffar Khan. Blochmann writes that this Masjid is now in ruins, which still goes by the name of *Nawab Muzaffar Khan ki Masjid* or *kali Masjid*. Maasir says it stood in the *katra Miyan Raziq*, but this name does not appear to be now-a-days.²⁰⁰

Mutamad Khan Bakhshi, had laid out a garden in Lucknow which is a recreation ground for the people of the world; he lives in retirement there.²⁰¹ His brother Muhammad Ashraf had constructed in the town of Lucknow, a *sarai* and a suburb (para) (called) *Ashrafad* and stately edifices.

Itimad khan, *Khwajasara*, built Itimadpur, 6 kos from Agra. He had there a villa and a large tank. He also lies buried there.²⁰²

Under Jahangir, Haji Koka, the mother of Mir-Miran, had constructed a lofty *sarai* on the *nala* (torrentbed) of Delhi and a bridge over it, whose edifice will endure for a

197 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 82. Haji Koka was a lady of beauty. She was Chief among Ladies (*sadr-i-musammat*).

198 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 324.

199 *Ibid*, p. 127.

200 *Ibid*, p. 375. The Masjid, now called the Jami Masjid of Agra was built in 1058, by Jahan Ara Begum, Shah Jahan daughter, at a cost of five lacs of rupees.

201 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 86. "He has found a beautiful chronogram for the garden and got it inscribed above the gate in inscriptional calligraphy. It is: Garden; of friends. Year 1040 H. (1630-31 A.D.)

202 *Ibid*, p. 473.

very long time.²⁰³ Mirza Abdur Rahim had built a tomb for Miya Fahim, his faithful servant, in Delhi, which is now called Nila Burj, near Humayun's tomb.²⁰⁴ Shah Budagh Khan, who for a long time governor of Mandu, had erected a bulding, to which he gave the name of Nilkanth.²⁰⁵

Shaista Khan undertook many construction projects at Dhaka. He encouraged the construction of modern townships and public works in Dhaka, leading to massive Urban and economic expansion. He encouraged the construction of majestic monuments across the province, including mosques, mausoleums and palaces. He expanded Lalbagh Fort, Chowk Bazaar mosque, Saat Masjid and Choto Katra. He also supervised the construction of the mausoleum for his daughter Bibi Pari. The Shaista Khan Mosque,²⁰⁶ built by him on his palace grounds, incorporate unique elements of Bengali and Mughal architecture.

At Jaunpur, Munim Khan aimed at restoring and reconstructing a great number of buildings that were destroyed by the Lodis. He set a personal example by commissioning a number of civic structures around the city so as to encourage the building of civic amenities by his nobles. The great bridge of Jaunpur was built by Munim Khan in 1573.²⁰⁷ Nowadays it is known as Shahi bridge or Munim Khan's bridge or Jaunpur Bridge.

Ali Quli Khan Zaman, who was appointed to Jaunpur in 1556, remained stationed for the rest of his life till his death. *Zamaniya* (now a station on the E.I Railway) was founded by him in Jaunpur.²⁰⁸ Shah Baz Khan, the eldest son of Nawwab *Amirul-*

203 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 82. Haji Koka was a lady of beauty. She was Chief among Ladies (*sadr-i-musammat*).

204 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p. 360.

205 *Ibid*, p. 402.

206 It is supposed to be built between 1663 and 1678, the first vicerealty of Khan. During the British period the mosque was seriously damaged by an accidental fire. Recently the mosque has been repaired and has lost its original look. An old inscription in Persian fixed over the doorway still stands today, declaring that Shaista Khan erected the mosque.

207 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p. 334.

208 *Ibid*, p. 337.

Umara Sharif Khan,²⁰⁹ had constructed at a distance of one *kroh* from Lucknow, a *sarai* named after himself which is still flourishing.²¹⁰

There are some instances which shows that Iranis and Turanis entered into matrimonial relations with the local ruling class, thus strengthening their social relations with them.. Regarding this, Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, “In 961, when Humayun returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the *Zamindars* of the country, and after marrying the eldest daughter of Jamal Khan of Mewat²¹¹, he asked Bayram Khan to marry the younger one.”²¹² Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* was born from this wedlock. Mahabat Khan had married the daughter of Pokaran chief, a relative of Rawal Kalyan of Jaiselmar to his son and gave them so much money, goods, horses and elephants that they all submitted to his authority and the royal army which was sent against him by Nur Jahan could not attack him.²¹³

Thus from above, it becomes amply clear, that the inflow of Iranis and Turanis to Mughal India continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Unstable political conditions in their homeland, grandeur of Mughal Empire as well as patronage provided by the Mughals to the immigrants from various lands were the major motivating factors, guiding Iranis and Turanis to come to India. Not only the nobles, but the poets, scholars, physicians, artists, painters too came to India. The Mughals in turn provide them patronage, not only by giving them rank in political circles, but also provide them land to settle, in the form of revenue assignment (*jagir*), or military assignment. Under the early Mughal Emperors (Babur and Humayun), as the political conditions were not very stable, we do not find much reference of Iranis and Turanis settling down in a particular area for a long time. However, under Akbar and various successive Mughal emperors, more and more Iranis and Turanis were

209 Sharif Khan was the son of painter Abdus samad.

210 *Ibid*, p. 145.

211 He was the nephew of Hasan Khan of Mewat. *Khanazads* of Mewat were chiefly converted *Janjuha* Rajputs.

212 *Ain*, p. 354.

213 Shaikh Farid Bhakkhari, *Op.cit*, p. 45.

getting settling down in various places in Mughal India as mentioned above. They not only efficiently governed those places, but also built beautiful palaces, *sarais*, mosques, gardens, canals for the welfare of general public. Some among them, even entered in to matrimonial alliances with the local ruling classes, thus establishing social relations with them. Some of the edifices made by these Iranis and Turanis in various areas have survived the ravages of time and are still existing, thus enriching our knowledge of the Mughal heritage.

NATURE OF POPULATION

There was a continuation migration of the Iranis and Turanis to Mughal India. These Irani and Turani immigrants belong to diverse professional background. Nobles, being the dominant group of their population in India who assisted Mughal Emperors in the establishment as well as consolidation and expansion of Mughal rule in India. However, large number of their population in Mughal India consists of horticulturists, artisans in textile industries, musicians, painters, *Sufis* and merchants etc of Irani and Turani background who settled in India and many among them joined the Mughal service. Therefore, the present chapter intends to study these Irani and Turani social groups with reference to their life and works.

NOBLES

The numerical strength of the Irani and Turani nobles was quite large in the Mughal empire. Many among them were serving as a part of nobility in the lands of Turan and Iran, however due to unfavourable political conditions, they came to India. Their arrival in India was warmly welcomed by the successive Mughal emperors who provided them appropriate patronage and enrolled them in the Mughal nobility.

The nobility of Babur, who himself belong to the land of Central Asia, was predominantly Turani in complexion, however a few individuals of Khurasani or Persian extraction seem to have joined Babur's service in minor capacities after the fall of Timurid principality in Hirat in 1507.¹ These Khurasanis were the persons identified with Sultan Husain Baiqara's enlightened rule who left Khurasan after its occupation by Shaibani Khan in 1507.² When Babur attacked India, prominent Turanis with him were Khwaja Klan, Nizamuddin Khalifa, Sultan Junaid Barlas, Hindu Beg, Sultan Muhammad Duldai, Treasurer Wali, Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Shah Mir Hussain, Qutluq-qadam, Jan Beg, Sulaiman Mirza,

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Zahiru'd-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi, *Babur-Nama (Memoirs Of Babur)*, Vol.I, tr. A.S. Beveridge, Delhi, 2000, pp. 275, 276, 277, 278. Babur has very clearly mentioned about their service as the *amirs* of Hussain Baiqara, their family background, as well as their personal character.
- 2 *Ibid.* Also see "The Mughal Empire and the Iranian Diaspora of the Sixteenth Century" by Iqtidar Alam Khan published in *A Shared heritage: The Growth Of Civilizations In India And Iran*, edited by Irfan Habib, 2002, II rpt. 2012, p. 102.

Muhammadi Kukuldash, Shah Mansur Barlas, Yunas-i-ali, Darwish-i-muhammad Sarban, Tardi Beg, Abdu'l-aziz the Master of the Horse, Malik Wasim (brother) of Baba Qashqa and many others like Qasim Husain (Uzbek) and Chin Timur (Mongol).³ The Irani nobles under him were Mustafa Rumi Tawachi, Sayyid Mashadi, Pir Quli Sistani, Rafi 'ud din Safavi, Shaikh Zain Khwafi, Khwaja Asadullah Jandar Khwafi, Sayyid Mir Hama, Husain Aqa Sistani. Giving the statistical details of Babur's nobility, Afzal Hussain in *The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir* writes that after the battle of Panipat, the nobility of Babur no longer remained purely Turani and further mentions that out of a total 116 nobles of Babur, 9 (7.76%) were Iranis and 73 (62.93%) were Turanis.⁴ On the contrary, Iqtidar Alam Khan in *The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble; Munim Khan-i-Khanan* writes that though Indian nobles joined Babur's nobility for a short period of time, Babur's nobility remained purely Turani.⁵ After the battle of Panipat, because of adverse climatic conditions, some of the *begs* wanted to leave India⁶, nevertheless these Irani and Turani nobles under Babur played an important role in laying the foundations of Mughal rule in India.

Under Humayun, a large number of Iranis and Turanis had already secured for themselves an important place in the Mughal nobility which became an important

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- 3 Babur, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 445-474. Regarding Battle of Panipat, Babur himself writes in *Baburnama* that "Our right was Humayun, Khwaja Kalan, Sultan Muhammed *Duldai*, Hindu Beg, Treasurer Wali and Pir-quli *Sistani* ; our left was Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Shah Mir Hussain, Sl. Junaid *Barlas*, Qutuq-qadam, Jan Beg, pay-master Muhammad, and Shah Hussain (of) Yaragi *Mughul Ghanchi*. The right hand of the centre was Chin-timur Sultan, Sulaiman Mirza, Muhammadi Kukuldash, Shah Mansur *Barlas*, Yunas-i-ali, Darwish-i-muhammad *Sarban* and ' Abdu'l-lah the librarian. The left of the centre was Khalifa, Khwaja Mir-i-miran, Secretary Ahmadi, Tardi Beg (brother) of Quj Beg, Khalifa's Muhibb-i-ali and Mirza Beg Tarkhan. The advance was Khusrau Kukuldash and Muh. Ali *Jang-jang*. Abdu'l-aziz the master of the horse was posted as the reserve. For the turning party (*tulghuma*) at the point of the right wing, we fixed on Red Wali and Malik Qasim (brother) of Baba *Qashqa*, with their Mughuls; for the turning party at the point of the left wing, we arrayed Qara-quzi, Abu'l-muhammad the lance-player, Shaikh Jamal *Barin's* Shaikh Ali, Mahndi and Tingri-birdi *Bashaghi Mughul*"
 - 4 Afzal Hussain, *The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir*, 1999, p.4.
 - 5 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *The Political Biography Of A Mughal Noble: Mun'im Khan Khan-I Khanan, 1497-1575*, Delhi, 1991, 1991, p.IX-XII.
 - 6 Babur, *Op.cit.*, p. 524. "The greater part of the begs and best braves became unwilling to stay in Hindustan, indeed set their faces for leaving it." Babur further mentions that these were not the old begs but the men of little standing (*kichik karim*)

factor for the immigration of more Iranis and Turanis towards India. The period from 1530-45 was marked by excessive opportunism and disloyalty shown by many of his Turani nobles, however during his exile period, large number of Iranis joined his rank. The influx of Iranians to the Mughal court in search of patronage and employment continued throughout the period of Humayun's later stay at Kabul (1545-55) and in the period of Bairam Khan's regency (1556-60) in India.⁷ However, to counter the power of Iranis, Humayun while planning the reconquest of India, invited the chiefs and warriors of Turan to accompany him on his invasion of Hindustan as a result of which many Turanis joined his ranks.⁸ Even during the conquest of Qandhar and Kabul in 1545 A.D many of the old Turani nobles of Humayun rejoined his service for instance Ulugh Mirza,⁹ Fazil Beg,¹⁰ Monaim Beg's brother,¹¹ Kasim Husein Sultan Uzbek, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Monaim Beg, Hindal Mirza,¹² Tardi beg,¹³ Bapus Beg,¹⁴ Shah-berdi Khan¹⁵ and some other chiefs of distinction. In the meantime, large influx of Persians of different ranks and backgrounds into the Mughal service changed the scenario of Mughal nobility. The prominent Turani nobles under him were Ali Quli Khan Shaibani, Bahadur Khan Shaibani, Baltus Beg, Bapus Beg, Haji Muhammad Khan Koki, Qaracha Khan, Tardi beg Khan and prominent Irani nobles were Bairam khan, Munim Khan, Wali Beg Zulkadar, Haider Sultan Shaibani, Khwaja Abdul Majid, Khwaja Ataullah, Mirza Hussain and many others.¹⁶

Regarding the nobility under Akbar, W. H Moreland writes in *India at the Death of Akbar* that just under 70 percent of the nobles whose origin is known were foreigners

7 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. Cit.*, 2002, pp. 103, 104.

8 Gulbadan, *Humayun-nama (History of Humayun)*, tr. by A.S Beveridge, vol. I, Delhi, 2009, p. 509. Humayun now proceeded towards Kabul, whence he addressed letters, not only to the different parts of his own dominions, but to Samarqand, Bokhara, and the cities of the north, inviting adventurers to join him in his grand enterprise.

9 *Ibid*, p.309.

10 *Ibid*.

11 *Ibid*

12 *Ibid*.

13 *Ibid*, p. 322.

14 *Ibid*.

15 *Ibid*.

16 For details, See Appendix I.

belonging to families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at the court after the accession of Akbar.¹⁷ Under him, prominent Turanis nobles were Shamsuddin Atka,¹⁸ Munim Khan, Said Khan, Qutubud-Din Khan, Tardi Beg, Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka, Zayn Khan Koka whereas prominent Iranis were Haider Sultan Shaibani, Mulla Pir Muhammad Khan, Haji Muhammad Khan. Regarding Mirza Aziz Koka, Akbar used to say, “Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross.”¹⁹ The grandeur of the Mughal empire under Akbar, the patronage provided to the foreign immigrants as well as the turbulent political conditions in Iran and Turan led many more Iranis and Turanis to come to India for better prospects, for instance Turanis like Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Shahrukh, Ghazi Khan-i-Badakhshi, Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain and Iranis like Mirza Rustum Safawi, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, Sharif Amuli, Mirza Muzaffar Hussain Safavi, Nurullah Shushtri, Shah Fath ul-lah Shirazi and many others who were able to attain important political role under Akbar.²⁰

Iranis and Turanis retained their dominant position in the Mughal political circles under Jahangir, however, under him Turanis were overshadowed by Iranis. During his reign, the influence of Iranians was so steadily increased in each and every segment of Mughal politics that “In the early years of Jahangir, it was felt at least by Mirza Aziz Koka, that the Emperor was hostile to the *Chaghtais* (Turanis) and Rajputs, while he was showing undue favours to the *Khurasanis* (Persians) and the *Sheikhzadas*.”²¹ The main reason for the decline in the strength of Turanis is the mischievous propensities of Turanis as Jahangir himself writes in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that it is the temperament

17 W.H Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, New Delhi, 1983, pp.69-70.

18 Abul Fazl, Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.III, tr.H.S.Jarret, p. 338. “Humayun attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (*anga*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of *Ji ji Anaga*. Shamsuddin remained with the young prince whilst Humayun was in Persia, and received after the Emperor’s restoration the title of *Atga* (foster father) *Khan*.”

19 *Ibid*, p. 343. “His mother was Ji Ji Anaga. He grew up with Akbar, who remained attached to him to the end of his life. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would rarely punish him.”

20 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. Cit.*, 2000, p.108. The author has mentioned the name of Irani notables who came before 1580 and those who came after 1580.

21 M. Ather Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, Delhi; Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 16.

of Badakhshis to be seditious and turbulent.²² Nevertheless, lot of Irani as well as Turani immigrants came and many of them succeeded to settle in India and secured important political positions under Mughals. Important Irani nobles under him were Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, Mahabat Khan, Itimad-ud-daula, Abul-Hasan, Khwaja Abdus Samad, Mir Jumla Isfahani, Musawi Khan, Muhammad Shafi Sabzwari, Dhul Faqr Khan, Saif Khan, Nawab Azam Khan, Qasim Khan Namakin²³.

Under Shah Jahan, the Mughal empire reached to the zenith of its prosperity and affluence which attracted many foreign immigrants to come to India. Under him, there was a considerable jealousy existed between the Turani and Irani nobles in Mughal court for possessing monopoly over administration and politics. "The fact that the Turanis were Sunnis and most Iranis were Shias sometimes lent a religious colour to the controversy. The Iranis were supposed to be far more cultured and also won special favour under Shah Jahan".²⁴ Manucci, a foreign traveller who came to India in seventeenth century wrote in his account *Storia do Mogor* that Persians were famed for favouring their own nation in the Mogul Empire and the larger number of nobles were Persians.²⁵ However, on the contrary, Afzal Hussain writes that the percentage of Iranis suffered a set back under Shah Jahan as compared to the reign of Jahangir. During the first year their number continued to be large, but later on it appears the Emperor deliberately promoted the Turanis.²⁶ Important Irani and Turani nobles under him were- Iradat Khan, Afzal Khan Shirazi, Islam Khan Mashhadi, Mu'azzam Khan Mir Jumla, Ja'far Khan, Salabat Khan, Asalat Khan, Jafar Khan, Khalilullah Khan, Lahrasp Khan, Danishmand Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan.

22 Noor-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir, Vol.I*, tr. by Alexander Rogers, ed. By Henry Beveridge, New Delhi, rpt 1985, p. 55.

23 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Eng. Tr. William Irvine, vol-I, London, 1906, p.171, "Some years before the death of Jahangir, it happened that secretary (wazir) presented to him a Persian, exaggerating greatly about him, and saying that he was known to everyone in Persia, and even to king himself, who ate salt in his house. As the king heard about him he made him a great noble, and gave him the title of Cassam Can (Qasim Khan).

24 M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, Delhi, 1997, p. 19.

25 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Eng. Tr. William Irvine, vol-I, London, 1906, p.171.

26 Afzal Hussain, "Liberty and Restraint-A Study of Shiaism in the Mughal Nobility", published in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, p.282.

The reign of Aurangzeb is also marked by the domination of Iranis and Turanis in the Mughal nobility. Regarding their domination, M. Athar Ali in his book, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb* writes, “If the foreigners and their descendants (Irani and Turani) are to be juxtaposed to the rest, the foreigners comprised over 51.5 % of the nobles of 1000 *zat* and above in 1656-57 and practically the same percentage (51.6 %) during the period 1658-78. Here too, except for a greater enhancement of the Iranis share at the expense of Turanis, the situation remained unchanged between the last years of Shah Jahan and the first two decades of Aurangzeb’s reign.”²⁷ Similarly Satish Chandra writes, “The Iranis and Turanis, for whom the word Mughal was used, continued to be the largest group in the nobility, forming as much as 40% of the nobles holding ranks of 1,000 *Zat* and above even during the last 25 years of Aurangzeb’s reign, between 1679-1707. However, less than a quarter of these, i.e. less than 10% of the total nobles holding a *mansab* of 1,000 *zat* and above had been born outside India. During 1658-1678 A.D, out of total of 486 nobles, holding *mansab* ranks from 1000 to 5,000 and above, 67 were Turanis and 136 were Iranis, however during 1679-1707 A.D, out of 575 nobles, 126 were Turanis while 72 were Iranis.”²⁸ Thus these Iranis and Turanis constitute the dominant section of the Mughal nobility under the Mughal Emperors.

Literati

Literati also called as ‘men of pen’ (*Ahl-i-Qalam*) comprises poets, scholars and theologians. Riaz-ul-Islam in his book *Indo-Persian relations* writes, “Timur and all Timurids were patrons of learning and culture.”²⁹ Under both Babur and Humayun, with the possible exception of some of the chiefs who were recent immigrants from Mughulistan, and a small number of Uzbek nobles, almost all of the nobles could

27 M. Athar Ali, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, p. xvi.

28 *Ibid*, p.35.

29 Riaz ul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations; A Study Of The Political And diplomatic Relations Between The Mughal Empire And Iran*, Islamic Culture Foundation, Lahore, 1970, p. 166.

speak Persian.³⁰ As a matter of fact, till this time, all over Central Asia, Persian was not only the language of polite discourse, but also the *lingua franca*.³¹ Many of the Persian poets, scholars and theologians present at the Mughal court during the reigns of Babur and Humayun belonging to the circle of literati patronized in the Timurid principality of Khurasan.³² These literary figures included Shaikh Zain Khwafi, Khwand Amir and Mir Abdul Haiy.³³ Shaikh Zain Khwafi was descendant of some one distantly related to the famous Sufi of fifteenth century Khurasan, Shaikh Zain al-Din Khwafi, and is reported to have held the office of *Sadr* under Babur as well as Humayun. The *Fath-nama* by him in Persian after the battle of Khanwa (1527) is reproduced in *Babur-nama*.³⁴ He later expanded this document in his *Tabaqat-i-Baburi*, which was also the first attempt to prepare a Persian version of Babur's memoirs.³⁵ Khwandamir whose real name was Ghiyas-ud-Din bin Humam-ud-Din was the Persian historian attracted to the court of Mughals. His main contribution in India was the great historical work *Habib-al-Siyar* and he was also the author of *Akhlaq*, *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, *Khulasat-ul-Akhbar* and *Muntakhab-i-Tarikh-i-Wasaf*. He continued the Perso-Islamic style of writing history and got the title of "*Amir-i-Akhbar*" from Humayun.³⁶

Besides there were many other Turani and Irani literary men who eventually moved to the Mughal court in search of patronage. For instance, Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini who

30 Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Iranian diaspora of the Sixteenth Century', published in *A Shared heritage: The Growth Of Civilizations In India And Iran*, edited by Irfan Habib, 2002, rpt. 2012. p. 101. He writes that though the Chaghtai Turkish was the spoken language at the Mughal court during the reigns of Babur and Humayun, but by 1570, apart from an old Uzbek noble (Sikandar Khan), most of the persons present at a reception given by Mun'im Khan at Jaunpur were, able to understand a Persian ghazal recited there.

31 Babur, *Op.cit.*, p. 7. In Ferghana, the entire population of the *vilayat* of Asfara located in the hill country, 65 miles south west of Marghinan, was Persian speaking.

32 Irfan Habib, *Op.cit.*, p.101.

33 *Ibid.*

34 Babur, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, pp. 559-574.

35 Syed Hasan Askari who has translated *Tabaqat-i-Baburi* writes that Shaikh Zain was a scholar and a master of elegant prose and poetical style who assumed the pen-name of *Wafai*. Shaikh Zain was also a florid writer of highly ornate rhetorical, pompous prose, over ridden so much with metrical compositions as to make his writings a tedious reading.

36 Muhammad Ziauddin, *Role of Persians at the Mughal Court: A Historical Study During 1526 A.D. to 1707 A.D.*, Pakistan Research Repository, p. 165.

belonged to the *Sayfi Sayyids* of Qazwin, came to Hindustan at the invitation of Humayun and arrived with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne.³⁷ He was appointed tutor of Akbar at Kabul and joined the imperial services under Akbar.³⁸ Regarding him, H. Blochmann writes, “He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of *Sulh-i-kull*, “peace with all”, the Persian term which Abul Fazl so often uses to describe Akbar’s policy of toleration.³⁹ His brother Mir Ala-ud-Daula wrote *Nafais-ul-Maasir*, which is regarded as a standard work of literary activities during Humayun’s reign.⁴⁰ Another reputed scholar of his age was Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khan *mir munshi* who was a Hussaini Saiyid from Mashhad.⁴¹ Apart from his natural poetical ability, he was well versed in the seven different styles of penmanship and was well qualified to instruct the best calligraphers of the world. He was perhaps the first of his age to write *talig*⁴² and *nastaliq*⁴³ characters and was well versed in *Ilm-e-Jafar* (witchcraft).⁴⁴ As he was in the service of Humayun, he got the posts of *mir-i-arz* and *mir-i-mal* and the title of *Munshi*.⁴⁵ Humayun’s *dabir* (munshi) named Yousuf Bin Muhammad Haravi was also a reputed scholar as he wrote some books i.e. *Riaz-ul-Insha*, *Jama-i-Al-Fawaid-i-Yousafi* (a book on medicine), *Bada-ul-Ansha*. Humayun’s court was also decorated by the talented duo, Mir Abdul Hayi of Persia

37 *Ain*, I, p. 496. His family belongs to the *Sayfi Sayyids* of Qazwin, who were known in Iran for their *Sunni* tendencies. His grandfather Mir Yahya was a well known philosopher and theologian, who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history, that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammadan religion to his own time.”

38 *Ibid*, p. 497. He was received with great kindness and consideration and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor. At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Hafiz.

39 *Ibid*, p. 497. See footnote no.2.

40 *Ibid*, p. 496.

41 *Ibid*, p. 423.

42 It is a script style in Islamic calligraphy designed specifically to satisfy the needs of Persian language. It was widely used, especially in Persianized societies, until being replaced by the *Nasta liq* script.

43 It is one of the main calligraphic hands used in writing the Persian script, and traditionally the predominant style in Persian calligraphy. It developed in Iran in the 14th and 15th centuries.

44 *Ibid*.

45 Later on, he received the title of Ashraf Khan and died at Gaur in 1575 A.D.

and his brother Mir Abdullah.⁴⁶ Mir Abdul Hayi was an expert of writing *Baburi* script style and it is said that nobody had learnt to write in the complicated *Baburi* style more quickly or better than him.⁴⁷ His brother Mir Abdullah was a jurist and one of Humayun's intimate and specially honoured confidants.⁴⁸

In the early part of Akbar's reign Mulla Shukrullah, surnamed Afzal Khan patronized a large number of Persian scholars, among whom Aminai Qazvini and Jalaluddin Tabatabai are the most important.⁴⁹ During this epoch many Irani and Turani philosophers and scholars migrated or travelled to India, such as Mulla Said Samarqandi,⁵⁰ Mulla Sadiq Halwai Samarqandi,⁵¹ Mirzada Muflis Samarqandi,⁵² Hafiz Tashkandi,⁵³ Mulla Muhmmad Yazdi,⁵⁴ Mulla Shaikh Hasan Tabrizi,⁵⁵ Mulla Khwaja Ali Mawara-un-nahri,⁵⁶ Qazi Ghazanafar Samarqandi,⁵⁷ Mulla Alam

46 Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, Vol,III, translated and edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, pp. 378,379,380. Mir Abdul Hayy was an expert in writing the *Baburi* hand, which was invented by the emperor Babur, who sent to the honoured city of Makkah a copy of the quran written in that hand of which no trace now remains. He was sadr of Humayun.

47 *Ibid*, p. 378.

48 *Ibid*. both brothers were endued with piety, sanctity, and regularity of life.

49 Banarasi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*, Allahabad, 1962, p. 249.

50 Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, *The Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr.by Brajendranath De,1936, rpt, 1996, p. 685. He came to India in 970 A.H. and was distinguished by imperial favours. He was one of the very wise men of his age.

51 *Ibid*, p. 686. He came from Mecca and entered the Emperor's service. After staying for some years in Hindustan he went to Kabul, and for some years was employed there in teaching; and gave lessons to Mirza Muhammad Hakim; and is now at Samarqand.

52 *Ibid*, p. 686. He came to India in the year 979 A.H. and was engaged for three years in giving lessons in the *Madrasa* of Khwaja Muin; and then went to Mecca and was buried there.

53 *Ibid*. He was celebrated in Mawara-un-nahr as *Hafiz-i-Kumki*. He is one of the deeply learned men of Mawara-un-nahr; and was distinguished above men of his class in ratiocinative and traditional sciences. He came to Hindustan in the year 977 A.H. and was exalted by imperial favours. He took the expenses of the journey to Mecca and undertook voyage to the Hijaz.

54 *Ibid*, p.687. He was one of the accomplished pupils of Mulla Mirza Jan, and was distinguished above his contemporaries in ratiocinative sciences; and knew history very well. He came from Shiraz in the year 984 A.H. and was distinguished with royal favour.

55 *Ibid*, p. 689.

56 *Ibid*, p. 691.

Gulabhari Kabuli,⁵⁸ Qazi Nur Allah Shushtari,⁵⁹ Qazi Hasan Qazwini,⁶⁰ Qasim Beg Tabrizi,⁶¹ Mulla Qasim Wahid-ul-Ain Qandahari,⁶² Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani, Fatehullah Shirazi and Mir Murtaza Shirazi.⁶³ Regarding Fath-ul-lah Shirazi, Niammuddin Ahmad in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* writes, 'He was a very wise man and in ratiocinative and traditional knowledge was distinguished above all learned men of Khurasan and Iraq and Hindustan; and in his own time he had no one in the world similar and equal to him. He had gifts also in curious sciences, such as incantations and talisman; so that he constructed contrivances on carts, so that they moved on themselves; and arrived.'⁶⁴ With the help of Persian scholars, Akbar introduced important changes in the syllabi followed in the educational institutions. Akbar took interest in the scientific educational disciplines such as geometry, astronomy, accountancy, public administration, arithmetic, medicine, history and even agriculture. Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani and Fatehullah Shirazi⁶⁵ along with Abul Fazl and some other intellectuals became the pioneer of new educational policy during Akbar's regime. Irfan Habib writes in his book *Akbar and his India* that Fathullah Shirazi along with Abul Fazl help Akbar to introduce more scientific syllabi in the schools and more effective techniques in technology and to initiate discussions on

57 *Ibid*, p. 691. He was a Saiyyad and a wise man adorned with various excellences. He was the chief *qazi* of the country of Gujrat for some years and went away to Mecca from there.

58 *Ibid*, p. 693. He was a man of pleasant disposition and is cheerful and unrestrained. He wrote poetry and wrote a book of biography containing accounts of rulers and learned men and poets and called it the *Fawaeh-ul-vilayat*.

59 *Ibid*, p. 697. "He is possessed of integrity and honesty and learning and perfection."

60 *Ibid*, p. 695.

61 *Ibid*, p. 696. "He is distinguished for knowledge and is included in the rank of amirs."

62 *Ibid*, p. 697. "He give lessons in ratio-cinative and traditional learning."

63 *Ibid*, pp. 684-698.

64 *Ibid*, pp. 684-685. "He also made mirror, in which wonderful shapes became visible from near and far; and he could fire off 12 guns by means of one wheel. He passed it to the world of permanence in the year 997 A.H in Kashmir."

65 Samsam-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan & his son Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-ul-Umara*, vol. I, tr. by H. Beveridge, Patna, 1979, p. 543. Adil Shah of Bijapur by a thousand efforts brought him from Shiraz to the Deccan and made him his Prime minister (*vakil-i-matlaq*). After Adil Shah's days were ended, Fathullah came in the 28th year, 1583, by the summons of Akbar to Fathpur. The Khan-i-Khanan and Hakim Abul-Fath received him and introduced him. He was treated with royal favors and in a short time was made an intimate companion.

scientific theories.⁶⁶ Mulla Qazi Nurullah of Shustar, was well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of heart, clearness of perception, and acumen. Badauni writes; “He is distinguished for his justice, virtue, modesty, piety, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men. He wrote several good works and also a monograph on the un-dotted commentary of Shaikh Faizi which was beyond all praise. He also possessed poetic facility and wrote impressive poetry.”⁶⁷ Shaikh Hasan Ali of Mausil was a faithful disciple of Shaikh Fathullah Shirazi. He joined the service of Akbar and was given the charge of Prince Salim’s (Jahangir’s) initial education until the young prince could repeat certain lessons from Persian and other treatises on philosophy.⁶⁸ The Mughal period was pre-eminently an age of official histories or *namahs*. This new type of history was inspired by the Persian example and stimulated by the influence of Persian scholars and artists who had migrated from Persia for better chances of patronage by the Mughal Emperors and their nobility. Mullah Abdun Nabi, the author of *Maykhana*, who came to India in 1608 A.D., says that every *A’lim* (scholar) of Persia would come to India if he had the opportunity to do so, to take benefit from the generosity and patronage of the Indians. Abdun Nabi had heard the praise of India from merchants and other Persians who had been there. His first impression was that it was an extraordinary country where every thing was cheap and plentiful. Everyone had the freedom to live as he pleased without any interference or persecution.⁶⁹ Similarly, Abdul Razzaq Fayyaz Lahiji expresses his eagerness to settle in India in these words: “Great is India, the Mecca for all in need, particularly for those who seek safety. A journey to India is incumbent upon any man who has acquired adequate knowledge and skill.”⁷⁰ These scholars taught new

66 Irfan Habib, *Akbar and his Age*, Delhi, 1999, p. 128.

67 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, pp.193,194. He was introduced to the emperor by the instrumentality of the physician Abul Fath.

68 *Ibid*, pp.192,193. He was the faithful servant of Shah Fathullah but notwithstanding this he is an orthodox sunni. He entered the imperial service in the year when Kabul was conquered. Even Mirza Nizamu-d-din Ahmad and his son Muhammad Sharif received much profitable instruction from him in those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty and in secular learning, so much so indeed, that they advanced to perfection there in. Later on he went back to his own home country.

69 Abolghasem Dadvar, *Iranians in Mughal Politics and Society 1606-1658*, 1999, pp. 209, 210.

70 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p. 169.

style of expressions and the practice of these writings were begun by Akbar and ended in the eleventh year (1669 A.D.) of Aurangzeb's reign.”⁷¹

Mulla Ghani, Amani of Herat possessed both learning and accomplishments and was a man of education. He belonged to the intimate circle of Akbar and was one of the most entertaining men of his times.⁷² Talia of Yazd was a pen-man who wrote *nastaliq* well.⁷³ Ulfati of Yazd was also well skilled in the exact sciences and received one thousand rupees from the Khan-i-Zaman for composing a couplet.⁷⁴ Mir Waiz Wuqui of Herat who originally belonged to Badakhshan was famous for his preaching and held stirring meetings for preaching.⁷⁵

Irani and Turani scholars came during the reign of Jahangir too. For instance Mir Abul-Qasim Findarski,⁷⁶ Fuzuni Astrabadi,⁷⁷ Fani Gilani,⁷⁸ Qudsi Gilani, Nazim Tabrizi,⁷⁹ Baqi Nihawandi,⁸⁰ Fars-i-Hamadani,⁸¹ Reza Hamadani,⁸² taqi Shusthtari,⁸³

71 *Ibid.*

72 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p. 262. He came from Bukhara, and was for a long time in the emperor's service and was for some time news writer. He wrote good prose and compiled a *diwan*. He also wrote a *masnavi*, a *shahr-ashub*.

73 *Ibid*, p. 368. His business was that of a book-seller in Agra.

74 *Ibid*, p. 264. He was a companion of Khan-i-Zaman, and was captured in his rebellion. The Emperor spared his life, but death, less merciful, took it from him,

75 Badauni, p. 519. He was originally known as Mir Waiz (the preacher) and was a native of Badakhshan.

76 He came to India in 1606 and then he joined Mirza Jafar Asaf Khan. After some time, he went back to Iran and again came back to India. He visited India twice after the accession of Shah Jahan. Once he came to India during the 1st regnal year, and for the second time in the 10th regnal year. As he was well acquainted with Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan-i-Khanan, he obtained the felicity of paying his respects to the emperor through his good offices. On both the occasions he was awarded a gift of 5,000 rupees from the benevolent royal exchequer.

77 A. Dadvar. He had wandered several cities of the Mughal Empire. He dedicated his *Saqi-nama* to Shah Abbas the Great of Iran. He also entered the service of Muhammad Adil Shahi, the sixth ruler of the line. At his master's request, he wrote a history of the dynasty naming it *Futuh-i-Adi Shahi*.

78 *Ibid*. He enjoyed the patronage of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan.

79 He came as a free wanderer from Tabriz and stayed for some time in the court of Bijapur. Ibrahim Adil Shah II and his Wazir, Shah Nawaz Khan Shirazi, welcomed him to the new city Nauraspur. And he sung his *qasida* in praise of the king and the minister in the glittering audience hall of the palace, *Nauras-i-bihisht*. In India, Nazim found the leisure to complete major portion of his work, a *tazkira* of poets on which he labored for many years. Its title was *Nazm-i-Guzida*.

Nikhati Shushtari, Khalqi Shushtari, Fusuni Qomi, Asri Damghani, Nabi Qazwini, Taqi Auhadi, Sururi Kashani, Jalalud-ud-din Tabatabai, Mali Shirazi, Kamil Jahromi, Muqim darabi and many others.⁸⁴ Out of these, outstanding contribution was made by Baqi Nihawandi as he wrote *Maasir-i-Rahimi*.⁸⁵ It is a detailed account of contemporary poets, philosophers, physicians, men of letters, calligraphists, military officers under the command of Khan-i-Khanan.

Baqir Shirazi,⁸⁶ Arif Darabi,⁸⁷ Mulla Tughra,⁸⁸ Hasil Mashhadi⁸⁹ were the Irani scholars who came in the reign of Shah Jahan.

Irani and Turani women in India too participated in literary activities. In the Mughal harem, the first lady well versed in Turki and Persian was Gulbadan Begum, the daughter of Babur. She engaged herself in literary pursuits and used to collect books, wrote *Humayun nama* and thus had a library of her own.⁹⁰ The second daughter of Babur, Gulrukh Begum, also had a taste for poetry and wrote a number of verses. Another lady in the field of literary pursuits was Salima Sultan Begum, a niece of

80 He came to India in 1614 by the way of port Dabhol and went to Burhanpur in Khandesh and joined the service of Khan-i-Khanan. The latter conferred upon him a *jagir* and fixed his salary and allowance and requested him to write *Maasir-i-Rahimi*.

81 *Ibid*, p. 253.

82 He joined the services of Khan-i-Khanan.

83 *Ibid*. After migrating to India, he obtained the service of Khan-i-Khanan who rewarded and patronized him. He had adopted the pen name of Ghayuri. He was a disciple of divine faith and was employed by Akbr to write prose version of Shah nama.

84 *Ibid*, pp. 242-267

85 He started the work in 1614 and finished in 1616.

86 *Ibid*, p. 263. He emigrated to India during Shahjahan's reign and joined Ibrahim Khan who was the son of Ali Mardan Khan and great amir of Shahjahan's period. After some time, Baqir went to Mecca in 1672.

87 *Ibid*, p. 262. He belonged to the town of Darab in Fars in southern Iran. He visited India three times, in 1651, 1655, 1657. Later he returned to Iran in 1672 permanently. In his life he roamed through the cities of Ahmadnagar, Surat, and Daulatabad.

88 *Ibid*, p. 265. He migrated to India two times. First time during the reign of Jahangir and second time during the reign of Shah Jahan. Though he stayed in Deccan and accompanied Mughal armies to the Balkh expedition, he finally settled in Kashmir. He was a nature poet, but his reputation has survived chiefly as a collector of prose specimens. He has introduced a large number of Persian words into Persian poems and wrote a qasida in the praise of Raja Jaswant Singh.

89 *Ibid*, p. 265. Mirza Shah Baqir Husaini known as Hasil belonged to the Sadat family of Mashhad. He migrated to India in Shah Jahan's reign without certain reason.

90 M.P Shrivastva, *op.cit.*, p. 118

emperor Humayun. She used to compose verses and was well versed in Persian. She had maintained a library of her own. Jan Begum, the daughter of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan was also an accomplished lady. She was popular for her generosity and patronage of learned men.

Nur Jahan was specially fond of Persian poetry and herself composed verses. She had maintained a library, rich with books.⁹¹ There were some ladies who were poetess among the courtiers of Nur Jahan Begum.⁹² Mumtaz Mahal was also well versed in Persian and could compose verses. She was a patron of men of letters and a renowned Sanskrit poet Vansidhara Misra, was a favourite of Queen Mumtaz Mahal. Jahanara Begum was a highly educated lady who also composed verses in Persian. Zeb-un-Nisa Begum eldest daughter of Aurangzeb was well versed in Persian and Arabic. She was also skilled in the art of calligraphy and could write *Shikast*, *Nastaliq* and *naskh* perfectly. She was the author of *diwan* Makhfi and her pen name was *Zeb*.⁹³

POETS

As poets too, Iranis and Turanis constituted an important section of the population of immigrants in Mughal India. The generosity of the Mughal Emperors to poets from Iran and Turan and the patronage provided by their liberally minded and art-loving nobles to newly recruited poets and artists became an important factor for poets from Iran and Turan to come to India. Even some of the poets, were able to secure for themselves an important place in the Mughal nobility and some of the Irani and Turani nobles were great poets.

Under Babur, important poets were Qasim Kahi and Maulana Nur-ud-Din Khurasani. Maulana Nur-ud-Din Khurasani was first introduced to Babur and thereafter became a friend of Humayun as both of them shared a love for astronomy and the astrolabe.⁹⁴ He is described as a man of great erudition, a poet with the pen-name of *Nuri*. He was

91 Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1962, pp.182-185

92 Mehr Harwi or Hardi was famous lady poetess.

93 M.A. Ansari, *Social life of the Mughal Emperors*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 118.

94 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p.219. He was born at Jam in Khurasan and was educated in Mashhad. He was introduced to Babur and was a private friend of Humayun's who, like him, was fond of the astrolabe. He went with Humayun to Iraq, and remained twenty years in service.

known as Nuri Safidun as he had for some time held Safidun as his *Jagir*.⁹⁵ Under Humayun, important poets were Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini, Maulana Abul Qasim Kahi, Shaikh Abul Wajid Farighi Shirazi, Shauqi Tabrizi, Maulana Janubi Badakhshi, Maulana Nadir Samarqandi, Khwaja Hussain Mervi. Shauqi Tabrizi was an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by the Sam Mirza, at the Safavid court, had left the Prince service only to enter Humayun's. Similarly Shaikh Abul Wajid Farighi who came from Shiraz, was a pauper, and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body. He took his role as one of Humayun's court poets. He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry was full of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly *ghazal*.

Under Akbar, there was a continuous arrival of Irani and Turani poets. Under him, some of the best poets were indeed Ghazali, Naziri, Urfi and Zahuri. Ghazali left his homeland Mashhad, during the reign of Shah Tahmasp and fled from Iran to Dakhin, because people wished to kill him for his heretical tendencies. He was called by Khan Zaman to Jaunpur, and later on, he joined the court and was much liked by Akbar, who conferred on him the title of *Malik us Shuara* (poet Laureate).⁹⁶ Badauni writes that the poet had compiled several *diwan* and a book of *masnavis*.⁹⁷ Muhammad Husayn Naziri of Nishapur left his home for Kashan, and after some time he went to India, where he found a patron in Mirza Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*.⁹⁸ He wrote a collection of ghazals of exceptional merit. Regarding him Badauni writes, "In graceful wit and clearness of intellect he is the equal of Shikibi of Isfahan."⁹⁹

95 It is said that after Humayun's death, Nuri became the *Mutawali* of his tomb. Afterwards, Akbar gave him the title of Khan and appointed him to Samana.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 239,240.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 240. It is said that he had written no fewer than forty or fifty thousand couplets. Although his compositions do not rank very high, yet those of any of his contemporaries. Yet his poems, as regards both quality and quantity, are superior to those of any of his contemporaries. He had great facility of expression in the language of mystics. He died very suddenly in Ahmedabad and his Majesty ordered that he should be buried in Sarkhej, the resting place of many of the great saints and famous kings of the old.

98 *Ibid*, p. 508, footnote.1, In 1603-4, he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India, he lived at Ahmedabad in Gujrat, where he died in 1613.

99 *Ibid.*

Regarding his poetical talent, Jahangir mentions in *Tuzuk* as “who excelled other men in the art of poetry, and passed his time in Gujrat as a merchant.”¹⁰⁰

Maulana Jamal-ud-Din Muhammad poetically surnamed Urfi, was a native of Shiraz where his father held a high rank in government service.¹⁰¹ On his arrival in India, he first met with Faizi at Fathpur, and then he sought the patronage of Hakim Abul Fath. After the death of Hakim Abul Fath, he attached himself to *Khan-i-Khanan*. Urfi had to his credit a collection of poems and a *masnavi* written in the meter of the *Makhzan-ul-Asrar*.¹⁰² His *masnavi* entitled *Majma-ul-Akbar* was often called *Majma-ul-afkar*.¹⁰³

Zuhuri was the pen name of Mulla Nur-ud-Din, who was styled as Mir Muhammad Tahir Zuhuri. He belongs to Khujand, a small town in Khorasan. He first settled in Ahmadnagar, Deccan, where the poet laureate of the court, Malik Qomi¹⁰⁴ became a great admirer of Zuhuri and gave him his daughter in marriage. When Faizi went on deputation to Ahmadnagar, he strongly commended him to Akbar’s notice, in a special letter which he wrote from Deccan.¹⁰⁵ Badauni writes that he was a master of poetical style and composed a *divan*.¹⁰⁶ Besides these, there were some lesser known talented poets like Sarmadi of Isfahan, Mir Sharif Amani of Isfahan, Huzni of Isfahan, Shu’uri of Turbat, Humayun Quli of Gilan and his sons Hakim Najati and Hakim Zambil. Liwai of Sabzwar, Musawwir of Mashhad, Mir Muhsin Rizvi of Mashhad, Shaikh Haji Muhammad Of Khabushan, Naui and others were also known poets.¹⁰⁷ Masih Rukna-i-Kashi, who came to India as a result of loss of patronage by the Shah Abbas, was welcomed and obtained an excellent patronage from the Emperor.

100 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p. 188. “At this time he came and waited on me, and imitating a poem of Anwari, laid before me a poem that he had composed on me. I presented him with 1,000 rupees, a horse and a robe of honour as a gift for this poem.”

101 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p. 392.

102 ‘Treasury of secrets’.

103 He died at the young age of 36, and was buried at Lahore but later on, his corpse was removed to Najaf and was reburied there.

104 He was mentioned as *Malik-ul-Kalam*.

105 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, pp.372,373.

106 Ibid. “it is now reported that the unruly Dakanis, following their detestable habit of murdering foreigners, have, in a recent riot, put these two poor innocent men to death.”

107 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*,

Similarly Syed Muhammad Fikri, popularly known as *Mir Rubai*, as he was distinguished for his quatrains, came to India in 1561-52 A.D. and spent many years at the court of Akbar.¹⁰⁸ Although he was a cloth weaver of Herat, but in the description of poetry, he was like the Umar Khayyam of the age, and his verses were well known. His excellence in the field of *rubais* earned for him the title of '*Khayyam of the age*'. He wrote under the *takhallus* of *Shuja 'i*.¹⁰⁹

Seventeenth century A.D. also witnessed a large influx of poets from Persia and Central Asia to Mughal India. Persian poetry blossomed in India rather than in its birth place in Persia and Central Asia. During Jahangir's reign, among many Irani poets who were attached to his court were Bab Talib Isfahani,¹¹⁰ Fasuni Kashi, *Malak-ush-Shu'ara* (poet laureate) Talib-i-Amuli, Mir Masum Kashi, Mulla Ziyai Gilani, Muhammad Sufi Mazandarani, Mulla Haider Khasali, Mulla Naziri Nishapuri, Talib Isfahani, Kalim Kashani, Shaida, Mulla Hayati Gilani and Haj Muhammad Jan Qudsi Mashhadi, who were more prominent than others.¹¹¹ Many Irani and Turani nobles in the court of Jahangir were themselves poets and patronized other poets of their land of origin. For instance Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, Baqir Khan Najm-i-Sani, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, and Mir Jumla Muhammad Amin Shahrestani.¹¹² Next only to Khan-i-Khanan, the most eminent patron of poets in Jahangir's India was Ghazi Baig Tarkhan. It is said that whoever from Persia intend to migrate India, at first, must visit the court of Mirza Ghazi Beg at Qandahar, as he was one of the greatest patron of poets and scholars, then they proceeded towards Mughal Court. In this way, several Persian poets and scholars remained with him permanently and sought for other patrons only after his death. Abul Fazl writes, 'Poets like Talibi of Amul, Mulla Murshid-i-Yazdjirdi, Mir Niamatullah Vacili, Mulla Asad Qissa-khwan

108 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p. 352 and *Ain-i-Akbari*, *op.ct*, p. 612.

109 He came from Damawand and was in Agra during Bayram Khan's regency. Later he went back to his country.

110 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p. 367. He had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmir, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed Kashmir, he came to Hindustan where he was much liked. He was often in the company of Hakim Abul Fath, Zain Khan koka, Abul Fazl and Shaikh Faizi and was in 1616, *Sadr* of Gujrat.

111 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p. 180.

112 Abolghasem Dadvar, *Op.cit.*, p.208.

and especially Fughiri of Gilan enjoyed his liberality.¹¹³ He himself was a great poet and wrote under the takhallus of *Vaqari*.¹¹⁴ Murshid Borujerdi came to India on Mirza Ghazi Baig Tarkhan's invitation. He was appointed *wakil* and seal-keeper of Mirza Ghazi Tarkhan and received from him a *jagir* in Sindh. Later he joined the services of Mahabat Khan and Prince Khurram. Murshid Borujerdi was also the cause of arrival from Persia of other poets to seek the patronage of Ghazi Baig, including Mahwi Ardabili and Wasli Shirazi, who later received from Jahangir the title of 'Rashid Khan.' One of his protégés, Sorur-i-Yazdi, had earlier been in the service of Abbas-I. Another poet, Ahsani Gilani returned to Persia after Ghazi Baig's death.¹¹⁵ The poets or scholars who visited Mirza's court were namely; Talib Amuli, Mulla Murshid Barojerdi Shirazi, Mulla Ahsani Gilani, Mir Muhammad Hashim Kashi, Mir Imadud-Din Mehmud Illahi (poets), Mulla Abdur Rasheed (scholar and poet), Mulla Asad Shirazi (story teller).¹¹⁶ There is an account of Abbas-I's displeasure with a literary person named Hasan Beg Takallu Itabi. The more convincing is that he refused to drink a cup of wine offered by the monarch. In any case, he was forgiven and did not visit India until later, he decided to accompany Akbar's envoy Mir Masum Bukhari on his return journey in 1602 A.D. Later, he went back to Persia and again visited India during the reign of Jahangir and attached himself first to the entourage of Mirza Ghazi Baig Tarkhan at Qandahar, and then to that of Nur Jahan's father, Itimad-ud-Daullah. He died in India, probably in 1616 A.D.¹¹⁷

Under Shah Jahan, the best poets were those who came from Persia and Central Asia. Abul Talib Kalim belonged to Kashan but was brought up in Hamadan. He came to India in the reign of Jahangir, and was patronized by Mir Jumla, also called *Ruh-ul-Amin*. He entered the imperial service after the accession of Shah Jahan who in recognition of his merits bestowed on him the highest honor.¹¹⁸ His *diwan* (collection) consists of *qasidas* mostly addressed to Shah Jahan, *masnavis* describing the buildings erected by him, and a *Saqi-Nama* composed for Zafar Khan, Governor of

113 *Ain*, I, p. 92.

114 *Ibid.* he had borrowed it from a Qandhar poet.

115 Abolghasem Dadvar, *Op.cit.*, p. 138,207.

116 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p.180.

117 Abolghasem Dadvar, *Op.cit.*, p.205.

118 Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama (1592-1638), Vol.I*, translated by Dr. Hamid Afaq Siddiqi, 2010, p.297.

Kashmir.¹¹⁹ He also versified famous *Padshahnama*. Hakim Rukunuddin, surnamed *Masih*, was a native of Kashan. He was in the service of Shah Abbas-I, but feeling offended by him came to India, where he found favour with Jahangir as well as Shah Jahan. Afterwards, he returned to Persia and died there in 1656 A.D.¹²⁰ Hasan Beg wrote under the pen-name of *Rafi*. He repaired from Mashhad to Bukhara, where Nazr Muhammad Khan employed him as writer of *Farmans* or orders. He came to India about in 1645 A.D. and attached the notice of Shah Jahan. He was not a professional poet but possessed a rich and flowing style, and whenever he presented his compositions to the Emperor, he received abundant praise. During Shah Jahan's reign a very famous poet Mulla Ali Reza Shirazi whose pen-name was *Tajalli* came to India. But the greatest poet of that period, who is credited with having invented a new style, was Mirza Muhammad Ali, poetically surnamed *Sai'b*. He was for a long time at Kabul, where he enjoyed the patronage of Zafar Khan. He was favorably received by Shah Jahan, who conferred on him the title of Musta'id Khan. He did not, however, stay at the Court, but accompanied his original patron, Zafar Khan.¹²¹

ARTISTS

The Mughal period saw an outburst of cultural activity in the field of music, painting, architecture and literature. Regarding arts, Satish Chandra in *Medieval India* writes, "The Mughals brought with them Turko-mongol cultural traditions which mingled with the rich cultural traditions existing in the country, so that the culture which followed was the contribution of peoples of different ethnic groups, regions and faiths."¹²² Among artists, include painters, calligraphers, musicians.

Musicians

Medieval Arabic and Persian literature indicates the importance of music in the prerequisite knowledge imparted to respective rulers, hence aristocratic patronage to

119 *The Shah Jahan Nama of Inayat Khan; An Abridged History of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan*, compiled by his royal Librarian, edited and compiled by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, 1990, pp. 57, 92, 94, 188.

120 *Ibid*, p. 297.

121 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p. 184.

122 Satish Chandra, *Medieval India*, Delhi, p.435.

musicians was observed in Persia and India as well.¹²³ Like poets and painters, the Irani and Turani musicians were greatly welcomed in Mughal court. Babur in his *Babur nama* mentioned the name of a fine Persian musician, Banai of Herat who wrote a song on Babur's name. At the Court of Humayun, a Persian named Udhem Qazwini was a fine musician of his age. Music reached its highest splendor during the reign of Akbar the great who besides being an expert in the art, having a considerable knowledge of its technicalities, was its most powerful patron. Regarding his patronage of musicians, Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, 'There are numerous musicians at court, Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women.'¹²⁴ He himself has given a detailed description of principal musicians at Akbar's court among whom Irani and Turanis were; Usta Dost of Mashhad, Mir Sayyid Ali of Mashhad, Usta Yusuf of Hirat, Qasim named Kohbar, Tash Beg of Qipchaq, Sultan Hafiz Husayn of Mashhad, Bahram Quli of Hirat, Sultan Hashim of Mashhad, Hafiz Khwaja Ali of Mashhad, MirAbdullah, Pirzada of Khurasan.¹²⁵ Out of this, Usta Dost plays on *flute*, Mir Sayyid Ali plays on the *ghichak*, Usta Yusuf plays on the *tambura*, Qasim has invented an instrument intermediate between *qubuz* and the *rubab*, Bahram Quli plays on the *ghichak*, Sultan Hashim plays on the *tambura*, Mir Abdullah plays on *Qanun* and Pirzada sings and chants.¹²⁶ Besides these, there were Agha Muhammad Nai, son of Haji Ismail of Tabriz; Mawlana Awati of Tabriz; Ustad Mirza Ali Fathagi Mawlana Sharaf of Nishapur¹²⁷; and Hafiz Nazr from Transoxiana¹²⁸ who were in the service of *Khan-i-Khanan*.¹²⁹ Jahangir spent a good deal of his time in hearing the sweet songs sung by his Court musicians. Among them some important Persians were Muhammad Naii Neyrizi (Ishrat Khan), Baqiya-i-Naini, Samandar Shamlu and Ali Esfahani. Shah Jahan too patronised music, however Aurangzeb abolished the singers and musicians, just as he abolished the court-

123 Françoise Nalini Delvoye, "Indo-Persian Literature on Art-Music: Some Historical and Technical Aspects," *Confluence of Cultures: French Contributions to Indo-Persian Studies, Centre of Human Sciences*, (Ed.) Françoise Nalini Delvoye, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi: Rpt., 1995., pp.93-94.

124 *Ain*, I, *Op.cit.*, p. 681.

125 *Ibid*, p. 682.

126 *Ibid*.

127 Brother of poet *Naziri*

128 He was a good singer.

129 *Ibid*, p. 682, footnote no. 4.

historians.¹³⁰ After the fall of the Mughal Empire the musicians of the day moved to Oudh and found powerful patrons in its independent rulers like Wajid Ali Shah and others.

Physicians

The Mughal Emperors took keen interest in the development of medical science. They patronized physicians in their royal court. Most of the important physicians in Mughal employ were from Persia and Central Asia. One of the most notable physician was Khawaja Khawind Mahmud of Samarqand, who had learned medicine at Shiraz, before coming to join Babur's Court at Agra. A number of the descendants of Khwaja brother Khwaja Yusuf were noted practitioners of *yunani* medicine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D.¹³¹ Hakim Abdul Fateh came to India with his two eminent brothers, Hakim Humam (Humayun Quli) and Hakim Fateh Nur-ud-Din.¹³² They rose higher in Akbar's reign especially Hakim Humam who possessed an immense influence in the state matters and became successful to include in the famous nine-gems of Akbar.¹³³ Among other Hakims of Akbar's age, Hakim Misri is said to have been a very learned man and a clever doctor, a man of a most amiable and unselfish character who had full command over the theory and practice of medicine.¹³⁴ Another simple and pious man was Hakim Masihul Mulk Shirazi, who was exceedingly well-skilled in medicine.¹³⁵ Hakim Zambil¹³⁶ and Hakim Lutfullah Gilani¹³⁷ were also good practitioners of medicine, and possessed great learning.

130 *Ibid.*

131 Ziauddin, p.263.

132 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p. 468. His real name is Masiliud-din Abul Fath. His father Mawlana Abdur-Razzaq, his father, was a learned and talented man and held for a long time the post of Sadr of Gilan. The great poet Urfi of Shiraz is Abul Fath's encomiast.

133 *Ibid*, p. 529. Humam's real name is Humayun. When he came to Akbar's court, he discreetly called himself Humayun Quli or slave of Humayun, but soon afterwards Akbar gave him the name of Humam.

134 *Ibid*, p. 550. He died in Burhanpur and was buried there. He is mentioned as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character.

135 *Ibid*, p. 612. He came from Dakhin, where he had gone from Shiraz. He was a simple, pious man, and was physician to Sultan Murad. He died in Malwah.

136 *Ibid*, p. 490. *Zambil* means "a basket". He was a *muqarrib* or personal attendant on the emperor.

137 *Ibid*, p. 584.

Hakim Masih Kashani and Hakim Sadra Shirazi were the other significant figures of Akbar's Court. Regarding Hakim Sadra Shirazi, Jahangir writes in *Tuzuk-i-jahangiri* that he honoured him with the title of *Masihu-z-zaman* and gave him the rank of 500 personal and 300 horse.¹³⁸ Then he performed Hajj and on returning, at his own request, he got the government of Surat.¹³⁹ Regarding his knowledge of Medicine, Lahori writes, "He studied *Mutdawlat* from Shaikh Baha-ud-din Muhammad Jamal 'Aamli' and *Tibb* from Hakim Baqar b Hakim Imad-ud-Mahmood and he also remained to be the disciple of the famous physician Hakim Ali Gilani."¹⁴⁰ Hakim Ali was also one of the prominent physician of the court of Akbar and Jahangir. Regarding him, Abul Fazl writes, "Once the emperor tried him by giving him several bottles of urine of sick and healthy people, and even of animals. To his satisfaction, Ali correctly distinguished the different kinds."¹⁴¹ He had treated Akbar immediately before his death.¹⁴² Regarding him Jahangir writes, 'In medical skill and auspiciousness and rectitude and purity of method and disposition he was perfect. Other physicians of the age could not compare with him.'¹⁴³ Interesting enough, there was a physician named Hakim Saif-ul-Mulk Lang, who got the nick-name of *Saif-ul-Hukama* (the sword of doctors) because he helped his patients' very-well on their journey to the next world.¹⁴⁴

Some of the other important physicians of the Jahangir's Court were Feyezi-Gilani and Qasim Deylami. At the court of Shah Jahan, Hakim Fatehullah Gilani was one of the most prominent Persian physicians. Interesting enough, there was a physician named Hakim Saif-ul-Mulk Lang, who got the nick-name of *Saif-ul-Hukama* (the sword of doctors) because he helped his patients' very-well on their journey to the

138 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p. 155 and 374. He had produced a hermaphrodite cat.

139 Lahori, *Op.cit.*, p.296.

140 *Ibid.*

141 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p. 520.

142 *Ibid.*

143 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, pp. 124 and 154. "he had perfect loyalty towards me. He built at Lahore a house of great pleasantness and purity, and repeatedly asked me to honour it. As I was fond of pleasing him, I consented. In short, the aforesaid Hakim, from his connection with me and being my physician, had great skill in the management of affairs and business of the world, so that for sometime at Allahabad I made him Diwan of my establishment."

144 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p. 352. *Saif ul Muluk* means 'the sword of kings'. Saif ul Mulk was nicknamed as *Saif-ul-Hukuma* means 'the sword of physicians'.

next world.¹⁴⁵ Elaborating this Badauni writes, “ As ill luck would have it, whenever this physician undertook the cure of a sick man, the unfortunate patient surrendered his life to the messenger of death, for which reason the wits gave him the nickname of *Saifu-l-Hukama*.¹⁴⁶ During Aurangzeb’s reign, Shams-ud-Din of Gilan surpassed all his contemporaries as a physician. Therefore it is discernible that Irani and Turani physicians were held in high esteem in Mughal court.

Painters

The Mughal school of painting has steadily gained recognition as a distinct style of painting which had a rich tradition to fall back upon, and which reached full maturity during the seventeenth century. The early origins of the Mughal School of painting can be traced to Kabul which was a culture centre even before its conquest by Babur in 1504. Painting was patronised by Ulugh Beg II, the Timurid ruler of Kabul before Babur. Both Babur and Kamran continued this tradition. Humayun carried forward and strengthened it. Akbar was very fond of painting and during his reign, painting was organized as an imperial establishment or *Karkhana*. Painting reached climax under Jahangir who had a very discriminating eye. Shah Jahan too patronised painting however Aurangzeb lack of interest in painting led to dispersal of artists to different places of the country.¹⁴⁷ Irani and Turani painters were the master artists of the Mughal court. Som Prakash Sharma writes in his paper ‘Persian and Mughal Painting; The Fundamental Relationship’, “Their master artists initially hailed from centres of Persian art that flourished in Central and West Asia, or worked under the influence of these schools.”¹⁴⁸ Regarding the Persian master painter Bihzad, Babur writes in his *Babur nama* that, “His work was very dainty but he did not draw beardless faces well; he used greatly to lengthen the double chin (*ghab ghab*); bearded faces he drew admirably.”¹⁴⁹ Chahryar Adle in his paper ‘New Data on the Dawn of Mughal Painting and Calligraphy’ has mentioned two artists (gilder-ornamentalists) Maulana

145 *Ibid*, pp. 226,227.

146 *Ibid*, pp. 226,227. He was held in much honour in India for some years during the time of Bairam Khan, and afterwards, but according to his own statement he received neither patronage nor honour, and returned to his country disappointed.

147 Satish Chandra, *Op.cit.*, pp. 441-445.

148 Irfan Habib, *Op.cit.*, 2002, p.150.

149 Babur, *Op.cit.*, p.291.

Muhammad Muzahhab and Arayish Khan who were active at Babur's court.¹⁵⁰ Humayun during his exile period in Persia, came into direct contact with Persian painters active at Shah Tahmasp court whom he invited to join him. Earlier for some time, Dost Muhammad had left Humayun to join the service of Humayun's brother, Mirza Kamran at Kabul.¹⁵¹ Humayun on his return from the court of Shah Tahmasp brought with him two master miniature painters, Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi and Khwaja Abd-al Samad Sheerazi who were the pioneers to introduce and establish the Persian painting in India.¹⁵² The overall Persian painters who served Humayun were namely, Dost Musawwir, Maulana Yusuf, Maulana Dervish Muhammad, Mir Musawwir or Mir Mansur, Mir Saiyid Ali and Khwaja Abd-al-Samad, who greatly contributed to the evolution of the Persianized School of Indian art which matured as the Mughal School of Art.¹⁵³

Abd al Samad was a native of Shiraz. He had already gained a reputation as a calligrapher as well as a painter when he met the Mughal Emperor Humayun, during his exile in Persia. At Humayun's invitation, he followed him to India in 1548 A.D. first to Kabul and later to Delhi.¹⁵⁴ He instructed both Humayun and his young son, the future Emperor Akbar, in the art of painting. Humayun gave him the title of *Shirin-Qalam* or sweat-pen.¹⁵⁵ He received many honours from Akbar. In 1576 A.D. he was appointed master of the mint, and in 1584 A.D. at the end of his career he was made *diwan* (revenue commissioner) of Multan.¹⁵⁶ Among his students, while he was superintendent of Akbar's atelier, were Dasvant and Basavan, who became two of the

150 Charyar Adle, 'New Data on the Dawn of Mughal Painting and Calligraphy', published in *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture; Indian and French Studies*, ed.by Muzaffar Alam, Francoise Nalini Delvoye, Marc Gaborieau, 2000, pp. 190-191.

151 *Ibid*, p. 167

152 *Ibid*, p. 199. These two had come on the express invitation of Humayun, and were accompanied by Fakhr-e Sahhaf (the Book-binder), who had travelled with them and without whom it would have been impossible for Humayun to set up a scriptorium of the Tabrizi kind.

153 Som Prakash Verma, 'Illustrations of Persian Classics in Persian and Imperial Mughal Painting', published in *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture, op.ct*, 2000, p.223.

154 *Ain*, I, p. 554.

155 *Ibid*, p. 114. ' Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee of the court, his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is a spirit.'

156 *Ibid*, 554.

most renowned Mughal painters.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, his son Sharif Farisi was also unrivalled in the beauty of his art of painting. Sharif Farisi distinguished himself in a similar art by boring eight small holes in one poppy seed and then passing wires through them; he also drew on a grain of rice a picture of an armed horseman, preceded by an outsider and bearing all the things proper to a horseman such as a sword, a shield, a polo stick, etc. While his father, Abdus Samad was also famous for writing in a full and legible hand on one side of a poppy seed the *Surat-ul-Ikhlās* and the other side of it the argument of the chapter.¹⁵⁸

Mir Syed Ali was born probably in the second quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. in Tabriz. He learned the art from his father Mir Musawwir a well known artist of the Safawid School of Art.¹⁵⁹ Mir Syed Ali went in 1550 A.D. to Kabul and then to Delhi, where he was responsible to a great extent for founding the important Indo-Persian School of Painting. In the list of the finest painters of Akbar's Court, Abul Fazl gave the first place to Mir Syed Ali, as he writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*: "Among the forerunners on the right road of art, I may mention first Mir Saiyid Ali of Tabriz."¹⁶⁰ Among Abd-al-Samad's greatest achievements was the supervision, together with his fellow Persian Mir Syed Ali, of a large part of the illustrations of the *Dastan-e Amir Hamzeh*, a series that numbered about 1,400 paintings, all of unusually large size. As none of the paintings is signed, it is not certain whether he himself did any of them. Regarding this, Som Prakash Verma writes in his paper Persian and Mughal Painting, 'The Great masters Mir Saiyid Ali (Safavid school) and Khwaja Abdus Samad (Shiraz school), who are credited with supervising the earlier project at Mughal atelier, the illustration of *Hamzanama* (in twelve volumes, each containing a hundred large pictures executed on cloth), left their impress on the early Mughal school, and to a great extent formulated the narrative modes of the art of book-illustration in Mughal style.'¹⁶¹ Among the miniatures bearing the signature of Mir Sayid Ali is one in the Royal Library in the Gulistan Palace, Tehran, depicting Akbar presenting a miniature to (his father) Humayun. The work, though Persian in treatment in view of its many

157 *Ibid*, p. 114. From the instruction they received, the Khwaja's pupils became masters.

158 *Ibid*, p.554.

159 *Ibid*, p. 114

160 *Ibid*, 114.

161 Som Prakash Verma, 'Persian and Mughal Painting; The Fundamental Relationship,' published in Irfan Habib, *Op.cit*, 2002, pp. 151,152.

details, hinting towards the Indian style to come, and as well evident in the realistic presentation of the life of the Court. His style, before he left, was a distinct one, which to some extent changed in India.

Aqa Riza of Herat at Jahangir's court was another painter from Iran, who like Abdus Samad gave instruction in painting.¹⁶² According to an inscription on a miniature 'A Saint reading a book' in the Muraqqa-i-Gulshan (Gulistan Palace Museum, Tehran), the woman painter Nadiro Bano is described as the pupil of Aqa riza.¹⁶³ Abul Hasan, the son of Aqa Riza of Herat was awarded by the title of *Nadir-uz-Zaman* (the wonder of the age) and was praised by him in his *tuzuk* as he writes, 'He drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the *Jahangir-nama*, and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the *chefs d'oeuvre of the age*. At the present time he has no rival or equal.'¹⁶⁴ Similarly Ustad Mansur, who was honoured with the title of *Nadir-ul-Asr* (the wonder of the time) was also praised by Jahangir for his painting of animals and birds.¹⁶⁵

Besides these, painters from Bukhara, Samarkand and Kabul and other parts of Central Asia were also active at the Imperial Mughal court. The most distinguished amongst them were Farrukh Beg Musawwir of Kabul, Muhammad Nadir of Samarqand and Farukh Qalmaq (of Mongol origin). Their style and technique set the trend in the Mughal atelier; it not only shaped the Mughal *qalam*, but also inspired the artistic expression in general for at least two centuries.¹⁶⁶

SUFIS, DERVISHES AND QALANDARS

Irani and Turani population in India also includes the Sufis, *Darvishes* and *qalandars*. Regarding their immigration, A.Dadvar in his book *Iranian in Mughal Politics and Society* (1606-1658) writes, "Most of them were motivated by a lust to wander and the quest of new spiritual or emotional experiences. But some of them also came running from the tortures, humiliations and indignities to which they were subjected

162 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p. 20

163 S.P verma, *Op.cit.*, p. 152

164 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p. 20.

165 *Ibid*, p. 20. 'In the art of drawing, he is unique in his generation.'

166 S. P Verma, *Op.cit.*, 152.

in Iran.”¹⁶⁷ Khwaja Abd-ush-Shahid came from Samarkand to India and was well received by Akbar.¹⁶⁸ Akbar had allotted *pargana* Jamari, as a stipend for him; and about two thousand *faqirs* and worthy persons passed their lives by his means.¹⁶⁹ Later on, he returned back to Samarkand.¹⁷⁰ Sharif-i-Shushtari was the son of Qazi Nur-ullah Shushtari and came to India in 1584-85. He was among the great and meritorious men of his time.¹⁷¹ Sharif Kashi came to India following the Uzbek invasions of Khurasan province in 1587. In India, he joined the company of *Khan-i-Khanan*, and died in Golconda.¹⁷² Safi Esfahani came to India in later days of Akbar and found employment under Mirza Jafar Asaf Khan, who sent him on official duties to Kashmir and Sind. Later on he joined the service of Mahabat Khan and at his insistence, gave up the *qalandar*’s robe and returned to normal mundane life. The rest of his years were passed in Mahabat Khan’s service, controlling the management of his land grants. He was well versed in calligraphy and could write *Shikasta* very well. He was also a brilliant and witty poet.¹⁷³

Baba Talib Esfahani came to India during later days of Akbar and went to Kashmir in the garb of *qalandhars*. The beauty of the place and the pleasantness of its climate impressed him very much and he settled there. After the Mughals conquered Kashmir, he joined the service of Akbar, and was enrolled among the servants of the court.¹⁷⁴ Mir Hisam-ud-din Badakhshi was born in Badakhshan, settled in Hindustan and for a long time remain attached with the chain of *Mansabdaran*.¹⁷⁵ Then he became secluded to give time to his devotions.¹⁷⁶ Amani Esfahani came to India from Esfahan and lived as a *Sufi* for nearly 20 years. He stayed at Lahore and the people of that city

167 A. Dadvar, *Op.cit.*, p. 268.

168 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p.467.

169 Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Op.cit.*, p. 701.

170 *Ibid.*

171 *Ibid.*, p. 272.

172 *Ibid.*

173 *Ibid.*

174 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p. 367.

175 Lahori, *Op.cit.*, p. 293. His father Qazi Nizam came to India during the reign of emperor Akbar and became a servant of the imperial government and then got the title of Qazi Khan and Ghazi Khan.

176 *Ibid.*

confined and revered him.¹⁷⁷ Similarly many other Irani and Turani sufis like Fathi Ardestani,¹⁷⁸ Javid Qazwini,¹⁷⁹ Rasmi Qalandhar,¹⁸⁰ Fani Shirazi,¹⁸¹ Rezai Farsi, Makki Shirazi,¹⁸² Hussain Jami¹⁸³ and Kalbi Zul-qadr¹⁸⁴ came to India and settled here.¹⁸⁵ However, there were some sufis like Nazri Qomshehi,¹⁸⁶ Golshani Shirazi,¹⁸⁷ Zamani Khurasani¹⁸⁸ and Hozni Alavi¹⁸⁹ were among those who came to India, lived here for some time and then went back to their native country.¹⁹⁰ A parsi priest Azar Kaiwan, born 1536, after spending 28 years in Iran, left Iran and settled in the Indian

177 *Ibid*, p. 258.

178 He came to Deccan. He had propensities of a *sufi* and a *darwish*.

179 On Itimad-ud-Daula recommendation, the Emperor Jahangir summoned him to a private audience and was pleased by his manners. A royal order was issued for a regular grant of maintenance allowance for him payable from the Ahmadabad mint. The darwish Javid thus passed the rest of his life peacefully in that city.

180 His name was Mir Abdur Razzaq. Though after coming to India, he for short time cast off his ascetic garments and entered the service of Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, he later on resigned from service and wandered towards Kashmir, where the rest of his life was spent in religious and intellectual pursuits.

181 He developed interest in Sufism and retired to Surat, Gujrat, where he lived as a *darwish*. He died there at the age of 69. He composed several lucid verses and left a collection of *qasidas* and some books such as *Ijaz Mafatih-ul-Ejaz*, comment in *Nafatul-Uns* and *Faslul-Khetab*.

182 He came to India in the reign of Jahangir. He was well known for his Sufi knowledge and Sufi practices. He had profound knowledge of esoteric and exoteric sciences, and so many learned men of the time used to refer to him for solving their difficulties.

183 He settled in Lahore.

184 He travelled many parts of India until he died in India

185 A. Dadvar, *Op.cit*.

186 At the age of 20, he moved from his native place to Shiraz as a traveler, and then he sailed from the seaport of Hormuz and arrived in Burhanpur, the military headquarters of Khan-i-Khanan. Shortly after his joining the service in the army, a confrontation occurred between the Mughals and Malik Ambar in which Nazar was seriously wounded and carried away almost half dead from the field. So bitter was his experience of the battle, that he at once decided to go home. He was a sSufi and a poet.

187 He lived as a *qalandar* and as a poet. And had also some knowledge of music.

188 In old age, he came to India. He passed his time as a *sufi*.

189 He came to India during Jahangir's reign as a *qalandar*. Later he returned to Iran. He was witty and prudent in speech.

190 A. Dadvar, *Op.cit*, pp. 268-279.

city of Patna where he died in 1618.¹⁹¹ He was the founder of Sipasi sect and his son Kaikhusrau Asfandiyar completed in Orissa, c. 1653, his celebrated work on religions, the *Dabistan* (popularly called *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*).¹⁹²

TRADERS

Since the beginning of fifteenth century, there was a congenial atmosphere for the trade and commerce between India, Persia and Central Asia. Indian traders went to Iran and Turan for trading purposes and Irani and Turani traders came to India. Silk and half silk textiles, crimson velvet, carpets, bronze and copper utensils, Samarqand paper, horses and fruits were the main item of export from Iran and Central Asia to India.¹⁹³ During this period, many Irani and Turani families and individuals migrated to India to try their luck in trade and commercial pursuit. Though the main motive of these traders was to indulge themselves in trading activities, many among them took service under Mughals and settled in India.

The prominent Irani trader was Mir Muhammad said Ardestani, known as Mir Jumla who belongs to an extremely indigent Sayyid family of Ardestan.¹⁹⁴ He joined the service of a Persian merchant, who was carrying some horses from Persia for sale to the king of Golconda and soon established himself in the Golconda primarily as a great merchant.¹⁹⁵ Mir Jumla acquired an interest in jewellery trading, and eventually managed to use the profits from the diamond trade to enter into the Golconda administration by buying a revenue farm. By the mid 1650s he entered Mughal service and received the title Muazzam Khan. He rose to the rank of 700 *zat* and 7000

191 Irfan Habib, *Op.cit.*, p. xxix. Azar Kaiwan was educated in Muslim *madrasas* in Iran and tried to revive the great illuminationist project of Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. After spending 28 years in Khum, apparently dedicated to the laying of foundation of his Sipasi sect, he left Iran.

192 Ibid. though he places his own sect within the parsi religion, with whose account he begins, it is obvious that the *Sipasis* believed that truth could be found in all religions, along with much extraneous matter. Its authors anxiety to present all religions as accurately as possible, with all the dissents and differences within each, is patent and this makes it a particularly unique work of its times.

193 Surendra Gopal, "Indians In Central Asia 16th And 17th Centuries", published in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, New Delhi, 1992.

194 Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat ul Khwannin*, tr. by Z.A Desai, "Nobility Under The Great Mughals", New Delhi, 2003, p.72.

195 Mir Jumla's reason for leaving Iran is said to be escape from the *Zulm* and grasping instinct of the Persian *Shaikh-ul-Islam* with regard to the property of the orphans and the poor.

sawar under Aurangzeb and was deputed to lead an army against prince Shuja in the east.¹⁹⁶ Mir Jumla is the best example of a noble indulging successfully in sea borne trade. Besides the reputation of being statesman general and diplomat, he is also known for his frequent business deals with European factories. He was in real reason a merchant in trade of India, Bengal, Persia and Arabia. Mir Jumla's son, Muhammad Amin Khan too came to India along with his father.¹⁹⁷ He also had a high business capacity and he was the master of the port and brought and sold and loaded and unloaded cargo free of every impost.¹⁹⁸ Besides these two, there were other traders like Touri Tabrizi,¹⁹⁹ Jauhari Tabrizi,²⁰⁰ Maulana Ami Esfahani,²⁰¹ Amin-i-Kashani,²⁰² Tahir Taleqani,²⁰³ Qurbi Shirazi,²⁰⁴ Ghiyas Mashhadi,²⁰⁵ Salih Tabrizi,²⁰⁶ Rahim Tabrizi,²⁰⁷ Motiai Tabrizi,²⁰⁸ Shapur Tehrani,²⁰⁹ Najdi Yazdi,²¹⁰ Askari

196 Francois Bernier, *Op.cit.*, p. 79.

197 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Op.cit.*, pp. 241-245.

198 Francois Bernier, *Op.cit.*, pp. 173-174. He was nominated Governor of the Deccan, and commander-in-chief of the forces in that province; and upon Mir Jumla's descease, was transferred to the government of Bengale, appointed General of the army in that kingdom, and elevated to the rank of Mir-ul-Omrah, which had become vacant by the death of Jumla.

199 His name was Ashraf Beg, was called Touri as he belonged to Tour, a village near Tabriz. He had fascination for travels for trade and loved to be in the company of traders and eloquent and witty people. He turned out as a successful merchant, visited several places in Iran and outside in Hindustan in connection with trade.

200 He visited India twice for trade during during Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reigns. It is said that each time during his stay in India he earned enormous wealth, was very close to a number of the Mughal nobles.

201 He migrated to India for trade when he was still very young and settled in the Deccan where he lived for a long time and obtained enormous riched. He in connection with his trade also visited Agra, Ahmadabad and Mandu in Jahangir's time.

202 He came to India during Jahangir's reign. In 1614, he moved to Agra from Gujrat in connection with trade at an advanced age of seventy.

203 He came to India during the later days of Jahangir's reign. He was wealthy and is mentioned as a merchant. During the Shah Jahan's time, he joined the service of Zafar Khan and remained associated with him for a long time.

204 He came to India in the later days of Akbar in order to trade. After some time, during Jahangir's reign he left for Iran and then he moved to Mecca where he lived for some time. Later he came to India again and settled in Agra.

205 He migrated to India during Jahangir's reign in order to trade and he lived as a merchant exclusively.

206 After many successful trading missions to Turkey, he turned to India and carried on his business activities in many cities of the subcontinent.

207 He lived as a merchant and a poet. He came to India for trade.

Kashani,²¹¹ Qasimi Esfahani,²¹² Qudrati Esfahani,²¹³ Nasib Esfahani,²¹⁴ Hajji Muhammad Makki,²¹⁵ Kazim Savouji,²¹⁶ Aqa ahmad,²¹⁷ Salahi Esfarayeni,²¹⁸ Taqi pirzad²¹⁹ and Mujibi Nehi.²²⁰ Some among these joined Mughal service. For instance Tahir Taleqani came to India during later days of Jahangir's reign and during Shah Jahan time, he joined the service of Zafar Khan and remained associated with him for a long time. Similarly Qurbi Shirazi settled in Agra and was dispatched to Kashghar by Akbar as ambassador in 1597. He was also given the responsibility of delivering the Emperor's letter of invitation to visit Hindustan to Allama Chalabi Beg, Faregh Tabrizi and Allama Mir Tai-ud-din Muhammad Nisabah Shirazi. Some among these were poets too, for instance Salih Tabrizi, Rahim Tabrizi, Motiai Tabrizi, Shapur

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- 208 He came to India twice, during shah Jahan and Aurangzeb's reign.
- 209 He visited India many times. His travels to India were to explore trade prospects. Being a poet as well, Shapur was warmly welcomed by the literary men in Lahore, Agra and other cities of the Empire.
- 210 He came to India many times to explore better prospects for trade.
- 211 Askari was a merchant and went with trading caravans to Rume, where his success encouraged him to explore similar markets in the Deccan. Bijapur and Golconda being the traditional importers of Iranian merchandise, Askari soon established himself and earned a lot of profit. During his visit to Mecca, his ship was wrecked by storm and he survived with much difficulty. In a few days, he was a penniless man as he landed at Surat. From Gujrat he travelled via Ajmer to Kashmir and took refuge under the provincial governor, Hashim Khan and his successor, Safdar Khan. Later on he was enrolled in the personal staff of prince Khurram and his remaining carrer passed under prince Shah Jahan.
- 212 He migrated to India in 1615.
- 213 He came to India in Shah Jahan's reign because he was not satisfied in Iran. In India he was engaged principally in trade.
- 214 He migrated to India in shah jahan's reign as a trader.
- 215 He came toIndia during Shah Jahan's reign as a trader.
- 216 He came in Shah Jahan's reign as a trader and after some time, he returned to Saveh and died there.
- 217 He visited India ten times during Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb's reigns for trade.
- 218 He emigrated to India from Esfayan in 1573 in pursuit of trade. He travelled to many parts of India and obtained much money.
- 219 He came to India in order to see the land and travelled over the most part of the sub-continent. He visited princes and nobleman and received many valuable rewards, till he spoke ill of them. He visited Khan-i-Khanan at Burhanpur, wrote a Saqi nama and presented it to him. After staying at Burhanpur for sometime, he went to the capital city of Agra and entered the service of Jahangir. He became one of his companions and died in 1612.
- 220 A. Dadvar,*Op.cit.*, pp. 335-346.

Tabrizi, Shapur Tehrani, Najdi Yazdi, Askari Kashani, Qasimi Esfahani, Qudrati Esfahani, Nasib Esfahani, Haji Muhammad Makki, Kazim Savouji, Aqa Ahmad, Salahi Esfarayeni, Taqi Pirzad, Mujibi Nehi.²²¹

A Persian Jew merchant named as Sarmad came to India under Shah Jahan. This man had studied in Shiraz under the great muslim philosopher Mulla Sadra (died 1640). He travelled to India as a merchant, where he fell in love with a Hindu youth in Thatta, Sindh which shocked him to such an extent that he became a wandering dervish, roaming around stark naked. He then attached himself to prince Dara Shikoh. He was executed in 1661.²²² Besides these, many Irani and Turani nobles too indulged in trading practices, for instance Asaf Khan, Shaista Khan, Nur Jahan.

Apart from above mentioned, Horticulturists of Iran and Turan settled in India to improve the cultivation of trees.²²³ The expert weavers of Akbar's court, Ghani Beg Asadabadi²²⁴ and Aqa Muhammad Shirazi²²⁵ were Iranians.²²⁶ Among the calligraphists, Iranis like *Khan-i-zaman* Mir Khalil, Mirza Hisamuddin Hasan, Sharif Khan (son of Khwaja Abdus Samad), Khwaja Abdur Raza were popular.

Thus from above, it is amply discernible that the population of Iranis and Turanis in India was heterogenous. As the large number of them accompanied Mughal Emperors Babur and Humayun to conquer India, hence they constitute an important section of the Mughal nobility. As a part of nobility, they not only played an important role in laying the foundation of Mughal rule in India, but also helped in its consolidation and expansion. Apart from being part of nobility, many among them constitutes an important section of the literary class consisting of poets and scholars and bequeathed

221 *Ibid.*

222 A. Schimmel, *The Empire of Great Mughals; History, Art and culture*, New Delhi, 2005, p. 118. His quatrains, *rubaiyat*, are steeped in gloomy melancholy and he felt a special affinity with the mystic al-Hallaj who had been executed in 1661.

223 Satish Chandra, *The Social Change and Development in Medieval Indian History*, New Delhi, 2008, p.107.

224 He left Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan's service in 1592, is said to have endeavoured so much in the art of design making (*tarrahi*) and inventing Chintz-pattern (*ikhira-i-chit*) that those who were experts in that art admired and imitated him.

225 He made strange, wonderful inventions and made success in making designs for chintz (*tarrahi-i-Chit*), which they make best in Sironj in all of India.

226 Irfan Habib, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p. 133.

to us, the rich literature pertaining to Mughal period. As *sufis*, *darwishes*, *qalandars*, they roamed different parts of the country and some among them settled here. As Artists like painters, musicians, calligraphers, horticulturists, they were acknowledged as well as appreciated by the Mughal Emperors. Some among them came as traders and indulged themselves in trading activities, hence influencing the economic life of Mughal India.

IRANIS AND TURANIS IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF MUGHAL INDIA

The composition of Mughal nobility was heterogenous. It consisted of Iranis, Turanis, Afghans, Rajputs. Later on, Later on, in the 17th century, with the advance of Mughal power in the Deccan, there was an influx of the Decanis, i.e. Bijapuris, Haiderabadis and the Marathas. Out of these, it were Iranis and Turanis who constitute the important section of the Mughal nobility. They accompanied Mughals in their march towards India, and once they came, they played an important role in the consolidation as well as expansion of Mughal rule in India. Historians like S. Chandra, M. Athar Ali, Afzal Hussain, A. Dadvar, Firdous Anwar have done a great deal of research on the political life of these Iranis and Turanis in Mughal India¹, however the present chapter is an endeavour to study the different aspects of their political life which has been categorised into following sub-headings-

1. Association of Irani and Turani nobles with the Mughal Emperors
2. Their appointment in Central administration
3. Awards of *mansabs* and titles to them
4. Their active participation in various political campaigns leading to expansion as well as consolidation of Mughal rule in India
5. Their numerous acts of rebellion due to egalitarian tendencies of Turani nobles
6. Their role in augmenting the relations with Persia and Central Asia.

ASSOCIATION OF IRANI AND TURANI NOBLES WITH THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

As Mughals themselves came from Central Asia, when they came, they were mostly accompanied by Turanis and few Iranis. In the list of twelve leading nobles of Umar Shaikh Mirza given by Babur, 11 were Turanis. For instance, Khudai-birdi

1 Works on this topic include: Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-40*, Aligarh, 1959; M. Athar Ali, *Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1966, and *The Apparatus of Empire, Award of Rank, offices and Titles of the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, Delhi, 1985; Afzal Hussain, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir-A Study of Family Groups*, Delhi, 1999; Firdos Anwar, *Nobility Under Shah Jahan*.

Tughchi Timur-tash,² Hafiz Muhammad Beg *duldai*,³ Khwaja Hussain Beg,⁴ Sheikh Mazid Beg,⁵ Ali-Mazid Quchin,⁶ Qasim Beg Quchin,⁷ Hasan (son) of Yaq'ub,⁸ Baba

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- 2 Zahiru'd-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi, *Babur-Nama (Memoirs Of Babur)*, Vol.I. tr. A.S. Beveridge, Delhi, 2000, p.28. "Khudai-birdi Tughchi Timur- tash, a descendant of the brother of Aq-bugha Beg, the Governor of Hiri (Herat, for Timur Beg.) When Sl. Abu-sa'id Mirza, after besieging Juki Mirza (Shahrukhi) in Shahrukhi (868 A.H-1464 A.D.) gave the Farghana country to Umar Shaikh Mirza, he puts this Khudai-birdi Beg at the head of the Mirza's gate."
 - 3 *Ibid.* "Hafiz Muhammad Beg Duldai was another, Sl.Malik Kashghari's son and a younger brother of Ahmad Hajji Beg. After the death of Khudai birdi Beg, they sent him to control Umar Shaikh Mirza's Gate, but he did not get on well with the Andijan Brgs and therefore, when Sl. Abu-Said Mirza died, went to Samarkand and took service with Sl.Ahmad Mirza. At the time of the disaster on the Chir, he was in Auratipa and made it over to 'Umar Shaikh Mirza when the Mirza passed through on his way to Samarqand, himself taking service with him. The Mirza, for his part, gave him the Andijan command. Later on he went to Sl. Mahmud Khan in Tashkent and was there entrusted with the guardianship of Khan Mirza(Wais) and given Dizak. He had started for Makka by way of Hind before I took Kabul (910 A.H Oct. 1504 A.D.), but he went to God's mercy on the road. He was a simple person."
 - 4 *Ibid.* "He was another, a good natured and simple person. It is said that, after the fashion of those days, he used to improvise very well at drinking parties."
 - 5 *Ibid.* "Shaikh Mazid Beg was another, my first guardian, excellent in rule and method. He must have served (*khidmat qilghan dur*) under Babur Mirza (*Shahrukhi*). There was no greater *beg* in Umar Shaikh Mirza's presence. He was a vicious person and kept catamites."
 - 6 *Ibid.* "Ali-mazid Quchin was another; he rebelled twice, once at Akshi, once at Tashkent. He was disloyal, untrue to his salt, vicious and good for nothing."
 - 7 *Ibid.* "Qasim Beg Quchin, of the ancient army-begs of Andijan, was another. He had the control of my Gate after Hasan Yaq'ub Beg. His life through, his authority and consequences waxed without decline. He was a brave man ; once he gave some *Auzbegs* a good beating when he overtook them raiding near Kasan; his sword hewed away in 'umar Shaikh Mirza's presence; and in the fight at the Broad Ford (Yasi-kijit circa 904 AH.-July, 1499 A.D.) he hewed away with the rest. In the guerilla days he went to Khusrau Shah (907 AH.) at the time I was planning to go from the Macha hill-country to Sl. Mahmud Khan, but he came back to me in 910AH. (1504 AD.) and I shewed him all my favour and affection. When I attacked the Turkman Hazara raiders in Dara-i-Khwush (911AH.-1522 AD.). he was a pious, God fearing Musalman, an abstainer from doubtful ailments; excellent in judgment and counsel, very facetious and, though he could neither read nor write (ummiy), used to make entertaining jokes."
 - 8 *Ibid.* "Hasan was another, a small-minded, good tempered, smart and active man. He was a brave, a good archer, played polo (*chaughan*) well and leapt well at leap-frog. He had control of my Gate after 'Umar Shaikh Mirza's accident. He had not much sense, was narrow minded and somewhat of a strife stirrer."

Beg Baba Quli,⁹ Ali-dost Taghai,¹⁰ Wais Laghari,¹¹ Mir Ghiyas Taghai,¹² Qambar-ali Mughul¹³ and there was only one person of Khurasani background i.e. Ali-darwesh Khurasani¹⁴ who was entrusted with clerical work.¹⁵ The nobility which came with Babur to Hindustan naturally was predominantly in Turani complexion; a few individuals of Khurasani or Persian extraction who seem to have joined Babur's service in minor capacities after the fall of Timurid principality in Hirat in 1507,

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- 9 *Ibid.* "Baba Beg's Quli (Ali) was another, a descendant of Shaikh Ali Bahadur. They made him my guardian when Shaikh Mazid died. He went over to Sl. Ahmad Mirza when the Mirza led his army against Andijan (899 A.H), and gave him Aura-tipa. After Sl.Mahmud Mirza's death, he left Samarkand and was on his way to join me (900AH.) when Sl. Ali Mirza, issuing out of Aura-tipa, fought, defeated and slew him. His management and equipment were excellent and he took great care of his men. He prayed not; he kept no fasts; he was like a heathen and he was a tyrant."
 - 10 *Ibid.* "Ali-dost Taghai was another, one of the *Sagharichi tuman-begs* and a relation of my mother's mother, Aisan-daulat Begim. I favoured him more than he had been favoured in 'Umar Shaikh Mirza's time. People said, "Work will come from his hand." But in the many years he was in my presence, no work to speak of came to sight. He must have served Sl.Abu-said Mirza. He claimed to have power to bring on rain with the jade-stone. He was the Falconer (*qushchi*), worthless by nature and habit, a stingy, severe, strife-stirring person, false, self-pleasing, rough of tongue and cold of face."
 - 11 *Ibid.* "Wais Laghari, one of the Samarqand *Tughchi* people, was another. Latterly he was in Umar Shaikh Mirza's confidence; in the guirella times he was with me. Though somewhat factious, he was a man of good judgment and counsel."
 - 12 *Ibid.* "Mir Ghiyas Taghai was another, a younger brother of Ali Dost Taghai. No man amongst the leaders in Sl. Abu-Said Mirza's Gate was more to the front than he; had charge of the Mirza's square seal and was much in his confidence latterly. He was a friend of Wais Laghari. When Lasan had been given to Sl. Mahmud Khan (899 A.H.-1494 AD.), he was continuously in the Khan's service and was in high favour. He was a laughner, a joker and fearless in vice."
 - 13 *Ibid.* "Qambar-ali Mughal of the Equerries (*akhtachi*) was another. People called him The Skinner because his father, on first coming into the (Farghana) country, worked as skinner. Qambar-ali had been Yunas Khan's water bottle bearer, later on he became a beg. Till he was a made man, his conduct was excellent; once arrived, he was slack. He was full of talk and of foolish talk,-a great talker is sure to be a foolish one-his capacity was limited and his brain muddy."
 - 14 *Ibid.* "Ali-darwesh khurasani had served in the Khurasan Cadet Corps, one of the two special corps of serviceable young men formed by Sl. Abu-sa'id Mirza when he first began to arrange the government of Khurasan and Samarkand, and presumably, called by him the Khurasan Corps and the Samar-kand Corps. Ali-darwish was a brave man; he did well in my presence at the Gate of Bishkaran. He wrote the *naskh ta'liq* hand clearly. His was the flatterer's tongue ad in his character avarice was supreme."
 - 15 *Ibid*, pp. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

were, perhaps, the only exception.¹⁶ These Khurasanis were the persons identified with Sultan Husain Baiqara's enlightened rule who were obliged to leave Khurasan after it was occupied by Shaibani Khan in 1507.¹⁷ Among these Khurasanis a considerable section consisted of the Turkish speaking persons of diverse origins who had come to be classed with the Persians owing to their prolonged stay there in the service of Sultan Husain Mirza, for instance Sultan Junaid Barlas,¹⁸ Yunus Ali,¹⁹ Hasan Ali Jalair,²⁰ Qasim Husain Shaibani all of whom had a Turani background.²¹ When Babur attacked India, prominent Turanis with him were Khwaja Klan, Nizamuddin Khalifa, Sultan Junaid Barlas, Hindu Beg, Sultan Muhammad Duldai, Treasurer Wali, Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Shah Mir Hussain, Qutluq-qadam, Jan Beg, Sulaiman Mirza, Muhammadi Kukuldash, Shah Mansur Barlas, Yunas-i-ali, Darwish-i-muhammad Sarban, Tardi Beg, Abdu'l-aziz the Master of the Horse, Malik Wasim (brother) of Baba Qashqaand many others like Qasim Husain (Uzbek) and Chin Timur (Mongol).²² Afzal hussain in *The Nobility*

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- 16 *Ibid.* pp. 275, 276, 277, 278. Babur has very clearly mentioned about their service as the *amirs* of Hussain Baiqara, their family background, as well as their personal character.
- 17 *Ibid.* Also see "The Mughal Empire and the Iranian Diaspora of the Sixteenth Century" by Iqtidar Alam Khan published in *A Shared heritage: The Growth Of Civilizations In India And Iran*, edited by Irfan Habib, 2002, II rpt. 2012, p.102.
- 18 Babur, *Op. cit.*, p.276. Regarding him, it has been mentioned in *Baburnama* that he was the father of Nizamud-din 'Ali, Babur's Khalifa (Vice-regent). That Khalifa was of religious house on his mother's side may be inferred from his being styled both Sayyid and Khwaja neither of which titles could have come from his Turki father. His mother may have been Sayyida of one of the religious families of Marghinan, since Khalifa's son Muhibb-i-ali writes his father's name "Nizamud-din 'Ali Marghilani" in the preface of his Book on Sport (Rieu's Pers. Cat. P.485).
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 278. It has been mentioned in *Baburnama* that Yunus Ali, son of Baba Ali was a beg, a confidant and of his Babur's household.
- 20 *Ibid.* "Hasan of Ali Jalair was another. His original name was Hussain Jalair but he came to be called 'Ali's Hasan. His father 'Ali Jalair must have been favoured and made a *beg* by Babur Mirza; no man was greater later on when Yadgar-i-muhammad M. took Heri. Hasan-i-ali was Sl. Hussain Mirza's Qush-begi. He made *Tufaili* (Uninvited guest) his pen-name; wrote good odes and was the master of this art in his day. He wrote odes on my name when he came to my presence at the time I took Samarkand in 917 AH. (1511 AD.) Impudent (bi bak) and prodigal he was, a keeper of catamites, a constant dicer and draught-player.
- 21 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *The Political Biography Of A Mughal Noble: Mun'im Khan Khan-I Khanan, 1497-1575*, Delhi, 1991, p.ix.
- 22 Babur, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 445-474. Regarding Battle of Panipat, Babur himself writes in *Baburnama* that "Our right was Humayun, Khwaja Kalan, Sultan Muhammed

Under Akbar and Jahangir writes that after the battle of Panipat, the nobility of Babur no longer remained purely Turani and further mentions that out of a total 116 nobles of Babur, 9 (7.76%) were Iranis and 73 (62.93%) were Turanis.²³ Iqtidar Alam Khan writes that the Indian nobles joined Babur for a very brief period only; he believes therefore that Babur's nobility remained purely Turani,²⁴ however Afzal Hussain on the contrary writes that a large number of the Indians remained with the Mughals even after Babur's death and during early years of Humayun. He further writes that though a large number of Indians remained within the nobility, the Chaghtai tradition remained dominant, because the Indian nobles could not be fully assimilated.²⁵

During the reign of Humayun, a large number of Iranis and Turanis had already established their roots in India and some were appointed on important political posts which tempted many more Iranis and Turanis to immigrate to India. Regarding army of Humayun, Gulbadan writes in *Humayun-nama*, "The army was not a national one, connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghtai, Uzbek, Moghul, Persian, Afghan and Indian."²⁶ I have categorised the period of Humayun with special reference to Iranis and Turanis in two phases-

- a. The period when Humayun ascend the throne till his exile to Persia (1530-45)- This period is marked by the domination of Turanis in his nobility. Due to the excessive opportunism and adventurism among his Turani nobles, many among them left him and joined Mirza Kamran for instance Khwaja Kilan,

Duldai, Hindu Beg, Treasurer Wali and Pir-quli *Sistani* ; our left was Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Shah Mir Hussain, Sl. Junaid *Barlas*, Qutuq-qadam, Jan Beg, pay-master Muhammad, and Shah Hussain (of) Yaragi *Mughul Ghanchi*. The right hand of the centre was Chin-timur Sultan, Sulaiman Mirza, Muhammadi Kukuldash, Shah Mansur *Barlas*, Yunas-i-ali, Darwish-i-muhammad *Sarban* and 'Abdu'l-lah the librarian. The left of the centre was Khalifa, Khwaja Mir-i-miran, Secretary Ahmadi, Tardi Beg (brother) of Quj Beg, Khalifa's Muhibb-i-ali and Mirza Beg Tarkhan. The advance was Khusrau Kukuldash and Muh. Ali *Jang-jang*. Abdu'l-aziz the master of the horse was posted as the reserve. For the turning party (*tulghuma*) at the point of the right wing, we fixed on Red Wali and Malik Qasim (brother) of Baba *Qashqa*, with their Mughuls; for the turning party at the point of the left wing, we arrayed Qara-quzi, Abu'l-muhammad the lance-player, Shaikh Jamal *Barin's* Shaikh Ali, Mahndi and Tingri-birdi *Bashaghi Mughul*"

23 Afzal Hussain, *The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir*, 1999, p.4.

24 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. Cit.*, 1991, p.IX-XII.

25 Afzal Hussain, *Op.Cit.*, p.4.

26 Gulbadan, *Humayun-nama (History of Humayun)*, tr. by A.S Beveridge, vol. I, Delhi, 2009, p. 2.

Roushan Beg Koka.²⁷ Regarding the nobility of Humayun, Nurul Hasan writes in his article “New Light on the Relations of the Early Mughals with the Nobility” that the nobles of Humayun tried to become as independent as possible and Humayun was not in a position to exercise any effective control over them.²⁸ A list of nobles, who accompanied Humayun to Iran, given by Abul Fazl consists of 26 persons in all, out of which 7 were of Iranian origin.²⁹ Regarding these, Gulbadan writes in *Humayun nama*, “He had with him, Bairam Khan, Khwaja Mu’azzam, Khwaja Niazi, Nadim *kuka* and Raushan *kuka*, and Haji Muhammad Khan, and Baba-dost the paymaster, and Mirza Quli Beg *chuli* and Haider Muhammad the master of the horse, and Sheikh Yusuf *chuli*, and Ibrahim the chamberlain, and Hasan Ali, the chamberlain, and Yaqub the keeper of the armoury, and Ambar the superintendant and the royal agent (*mulk-mukhtar*), and Sambal captain of a thousand, and Khwaja Kasak.”³⁰

- b. The period from Humayun’s return to Kabul from Persia till his coming to India (1545-1556)- This period witnessed the large scale influx of Iranis of different ranks and backgrounds in to the Mughal service, thus changing the scenario of Mughal nobility. Some of the Iranian notables who came with Humayun on this occasion already had the status of military officers under Shah Tahmasp. They were in fact deputed by the Shah to assist Humayun in his efforts to recover his lost empire.³¹ Among them one may find mention of

27 *Ibid*, vol. II, p.184. “The Highest *amirs* and especially the Chaghtai nobles, were discontented.”

28 Nurul Hasan, “New Lights on the Relations of the Early Mughal Rulers With their Nobility” published in *Religion, State and Society in Medieval India*, ed. by Nurul Hasan, p.114.

29 Afzal Hussain, *Op. Cit.*, p. 5. He writes on the basis of *Akbarnama*, and *Tazkira-I Humayun*.

30 Gulbadan, *Vol.I, Op.cit.*, p. 166. She further writes, “Khwaja Ghazi says: ‘I also was in attendance.’ This company went with the Emperor, and Hamida-banu Begam says, ‘There were as many as thirty people,’ and that of women there was, besides herself, the wife of Hasan Ali, the chamberlain.”

31 *Ibid*, p. 294. “The twelve thousand cavalry that were to be placed under the nominal command of Sultan Murad Mirza, the Shah’s third son, then an infant, were Kizelbashs of the Turki tribes. Bidagh Khan Kajar was named his Atalik or Protector.

Husain Quli Sultan (brother of Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan),³² Mirza Yaqub (a maternal uncle of the prince Khuda Banda who was nominated by the Shah to act *muhirdar* of Humayun), Khwaja Rushdi (deputed to act as *diwan*). The Shah also permitted the Uzbek chief, Haider Sultan Shaibani, and his sons, Ali Quli and Bahadur, known for their bravery and distinguished ancestry, to accompany Humayun to Kabul. Along with these notables, many other men of lesser ranks, such as Bayazid Biyat too came in the hope of finding employment as functionaries in one of the royal establishments or in the *sarkars* of high nobles. The influx of Iranians to the Mughal court in search of patronage and employment continued throughout the period of Humayun's later stay at Kabul (1545-55) and in the period of Bairam Khan's regency (1556-60) in India.³³ However, to counter the power of Iranis, Humayun while planning the reconquest of India, invited the chiefs and warriors of Turan to accompany him on his invasion of Hindustan as a result of which many Turanis joined his ranks.³⁴

When Akbar ascended the throne, though many Iranis and Turanis had already established their roots in India, however a larger number of new immigrants from Iran and Turan came and were welcomed during his reign. Even Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* writes, "Infinite praise to the Almighty that through the justice of the Emperor and the harmonious order of his administration, Hindustan has become a gathering of the virtuous from all parts of the Universe, each of whom, in manifold ways has attained to the desire of his heart."³⁵

Once these Iranis and Turanis came to India, they were welcomed and were given patronage by the Emperor as well as by nobles. W. H Moreland writes that just under

Shah-kuli sultan Afshar, the governor of Kerman, Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan, his brother Husein-kuli and a number of other officers and *Amirs*, were ordered to co-operate. The Shah told Humayun that he would add three hundred Korchi Khaseh (of his own body-guard cuirassiers), ready to obey any order of his Majesty, as if he had been their religious guide."

32 *Ibid*, pp.276, 294.

33 Iqtidar Alam Khan,*Op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 103, 104.

34 *Ibid*, p. 509. Humayun now proceeded towards Kabul, whence he addressed letters, not only to the different parts of his own dominions, to Samarqand, Bokhara, and the cities of the north, inviting adventurers to join him in his grand enterprise.

35 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.III, Tr.H.S.Jarret, p. 349.

70 percent of the nobles whose origin is known were foreigners belonging to families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at the court after the accession of Akbar.³⁶ Akbar's mother Hamida bano Begum herself was an Irani who exercised an important influence on him. His early tutors were two Iranis, Bairam Khan and Mir 'Abdu'l Latif Qazvini and one Turani named Mun'im Khan, all of whom were above sectarian prejudices.³⁷ When he was held as captive in Kabul by Kamran, he was under the care of Shamsuddin Atka, a Turani whose wife Jiji Anaga was the foster mother of Akbar.³⁸

When Akbar ascend the throne, prominent Turanis under him were Shamsuddin Atka, Munim Khan, Said Khan, Qutubud-Din Khan, Tardi Beg, Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka, Zayn Khan Koka whereas prominent Iranis were Haider Sultan Shaibani, Mulla Pir Muhammad Khan, Haji Muhammad Khan. Regarding Mirza Aziz Koka, Akbar used to say, "Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross."³⁹ The grandeur of the Mughal empire under Akbar, the patronage provided to the foreign immigrants as well as the turbulent political conditions in Iran and Turan led many more Iranis and Turanis to come to India and seek asylum, for instance Turanis like Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Shahrukh, Ghazi kHan-i-Badakhshi, Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain and Iranis like Mirza Rustum Safawi, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, Sharif Amuli, Mirza Muzaffar Hussain Safavi, Nurullah Shushtri, Shah Fath ul-lah Shirazi and many others who were able to attain important political role under Akbar.⁴⁰ As these immigrants beloned to different religious beliefs, M. Athar Ali in his book *Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb* writes, "The Akbar's policy of *Sulh-i-kul* (peace for all) was partly motivated by a desire to employ elements of diverse religious beliefs;

36 W.H Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, New Delhi, 1983, pp.69-70.

37 Iqtidar Alam Khan, "Akbar's personality traits and world outlook-a critical appraisal" published in *Akbar and his India*, ed by Irfan Habib, Delhi, pp. 80, 81.

38 Abul Fazl, *Op. Cit.*, p. 338. "Humayun attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (*anga*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of *Ji ji Anaga*. Shamsuddin remained with the young prince whilst Humayun was in Persia, and received after the Emperor's restoration the title of *Atga* (foster father) *Khan*."

39 *Ibid*, p. 343. "His mother was Ji Ji Anaga. He grew up with Akbar, who remained attached to him to the end of his life. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would rarely punish him."

40 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. cit*, 2000, p.108. The author has mentioned the name of Irani notables who came before 1580 and those who came after 1580.

Sunnis (Turanis and most of the Shaikhzadas), *Ithna Ashariyabs* (including many Persians) and Hindus (Rajputs).⁴¹

The domination of Iranis and Turanis in the Mughal political circles continued under Jahangir, however under him Turanis were overshadowed by Iranis. During his reign, the influence of Iranians was so steadily increased in each and every segment of Mughal politics that “In the early years of Jahangir, it was felt at least by Mirza Aziz Koka, that the Emperor was hostile to the *Chaghatais* (Turanis) and Rajputs, while he was showing undue favours to the *Khurasanis* (Persians) and the *Sheikhzadas*.”⁴² This observation of Mirza Aziz Koka shows that there was a considerable jealousy existed between Iranis and Turanis from earlier generations.⁴³ The main reason for the decline in the strength of Turanis is the mischievous propensities of Turanis as Jahangir himself writes in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that it is the temperament of Badakhshis to be seditious and turbulent.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, a lot of Irani as well as Turani immigrants came and many of them succeeded to settle in India and secured important political positions under Mughals. As the court of Jahangir was marked by the domination of Persians, the Iranis present in his court are categorised into two categories-⁴⁵

1. Descendants of the Iranian immigrants whose ancestors came to the Mughal court during the reign of previous Mughal rulers (Babur, Humayun and Akbar). They not only found political patronage but also secured high positions in the Mughal court, the benefit of which was enjoyed by their descendants in the court of Jahangir and later Mughal rulers. The family of Iranian nobles like Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, Mahabat Khan, Itimad-ud-daula, Abul-Hasan, Khwaja Abdus Samad come in this category.

2. The second category includes those Iranis who came to the Mughal court during the reign of Jahangir and got suitable political patronage. The marriage of Mehrunnisa

41 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p.16.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*

44 Noor-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir, Vol.I*, tr. by Alexander Rogers, ed. By Henry Beveridge, New Delhi, rpt 1985, p. 55.

45 See my article, ‘Flow of Iranis and their Influence on Socio-economic life of Mughal India Under Jahangir (1605-1627)’, published in *Proceedings of Patiala History Congress*, 2013, p.

with Jahangir and the ascendancy of her family during his reign becomes one of the important factor for the migration of many Iranis to his court. Even Manucci while tracing the descent of NurJahan in *Storio Do Mogor*, writes, “Through her influence, the court of the great Mughals was filled with great nobles from Persia.”⁴⁶ For instance Mir Jumla Isfahani, Musawi Khan, Muhammad Shafi Sabzwari, Dhul Faqr Khan, Saif Khan, Nawab Azam Khan, Qasim Khan Namakin⁴⁷ and many more joined the Mughal court during the reign of Jahangir. All of these, owing to the strength of their sword as well as personal merit were able to gain ascendancy in the Mughal court.

Nevertheless, Turanis too held important positions under him like Mirza Aziz Koka, Said Khan, Mirza Shahrukh, Lalla Beg Baz Bahadur, Shah Beg Khan, Pukhta Beg and many others.

Under Shah Jahan, the Mughal empire reached to the zenith of its prosperity and affluence which attracted many foreign immigrants to come to India. The prominent Iranis in his court were Iradat Khan, Afzal Khan Shirazi, Ali Mardan Khan, Shaista Khan, Zulfiqar Khan, Asaf Khan, Mahabat Khan, Itiqad Khan, Mir Jumla, Danishmand Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan and the prominent Turanis under him were Bahadur Khan Uzbek, Qulij Khan, Mutamad Khan, Said Khan, Nasiri Khan. Under him, there was a considerable jealousy existed between the Turani and Irani nobles in Mughal court for possessing monopoly over administration and politics. “The fact that the Turanis were Sunnis and most Iranis were Shias sometimes lent a religious colour to the controversy. The Iranis were supposed to be far more cultured and also won special favour under Shah Jahan”.⁴⁸ Manucci, a foreign traveller who came to India in seventeenth century wrote in his account *Storia do Mogor* that Persians were famed for favouring their own nation in the Mogul Empire and the

46 Niccolao Manucci, *Op.cit.*, p.159.

47 *Ibid*, p.171, “Some years before the death of Jahangir, it happened that secretary (*wazir*) presented to him a Persian, exaggerating greatly about him, and saying that he was known to everyone in Persia, and even to king himself, who ate salt in his house. As the king heard about him he made him a great noble, and gave him the title of Cassam Can (Qasim Khan).

48 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, 1997, p. 19.

larger number of nobles were Persians.⁴⁹ However, on the contrary, Afzal Hussain writes that the percentage of Iranis suffered a set back under Shah Jahan as compared to the reign of Jahangir. During the first year their number continued to be large, but later on it appears the Emperor deliberately promoted the Turanis.⁵⁰

Under Aurangzeb too, the court was dominated by Irani and Turani nobles. His reign also witnessed the fresh stream of immigrants from Iran and Turan as well as from Deccan kingdoms, for instance Khalilullah Khan, Shaikh Mir Khwafi, Muhammad Tahir, Sa'adat Khan, Muhammad beg Turkmen and many others.⁵¹ Regarding Turanis, Aurangzeb himself writes that the Turanis felt no suspicion, despair or shame when commanded to make a retreat in the very midst of a fight, which means, in other words, 'drawing the arrow back'; and they are a hundred stages remote the stupidity of the Hindustanis, who could part with their heads but not leave their positions (in battle).⁵² In contrast to the disciplined Turanis, Iranis were considered as more civilized men of pen, to be used as excellent administrators and accountants, and also being far more cunning and ease loving than the Turanis. All this made Iranis far from being unfit for military service as this required military talents as well as great deal of administrative acumen. Hence it appears that Iranis were hardly less involved in purely military functions than Turanis.⁵³

The Iranis maintained their position partly due to the influx of Iranis serving in the Deccan kingdoms. Here the Iranis had long been dominant; and Mir Jumla⁵⁴ provides an example of an Irani noble entering Mughal service through the

49 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Eng. Tr. William Irvine, vol-I, London, 1906, p.171.

50 Afzal Hussain, "Liberty and Restraint-A Study of Shiaism in the Mughal Nobility", *Op. cit.*, p.282.

51 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p. 97.

52 J.J.L Gommans, *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

53 *Ibid*, p. 70.

54 Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, tr by A.J Syed, 1977, p.62. A.J Syed has written that Mir Jumla was a Saiyyid of Ardistan (in Iran), who migrated to India and rose to be the wazir of Abdullah Qutb Shah. He was also a merchant prince of great standing. Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla quarreled over the possession of the conquests in the Karnatak, which the latter regarded as his personal *jagir*. Mir Jumla, who was in the Karnatak, appealed to Shah Jahan, who took Mir Jumla into his service and thus found an excuse for interfering in Golkonda affairs.

Deccan.⁵⁵ Aurangzeb is also said to have entertained great confidence in officers from Khawaf, a province of Persia, who became recipients of considerable favours during his reign.⁵⁶ Nor was the position of the Persians affected by the Sunni orthodoxy of the Emperor. He once refused to make an appointment to the office of bakhshi which was suggested to him on the ground that the existing incumbent was a Shia.⁵⁷ Regarding this episode, Z. Farruki writes that in reply to petition filed by Muhammad Amin Khan praying for the post of paymasterships on the ground that both paymasterships have been conferred on the Persians, Aurangzeb replied that Turanis should not throw themselves into destruction with their own hands, they should not think it a shame to retreat in the very thick of the battle as the Persians, whether born in *Vilayat* or in Hindustan, are a hundred stages removed from this sort of movement (i.e.flight).⁵⁸

THEIR APPOINTMENT IN CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION-

Though under Babur, these Iranis and Turanis were mostly involved in establishing the Mughal foothold in India, under Humayun were employed in the task of reorganising his central government. He pardoned the old nobles for their past acts of ‘treachery’ and insubordination and readmitted them in his nobility. Some of them like Qaracha Khan,⁵⁹ Khwaja Abul Qasim Mashhadi and Khwaja Qasim were given important offices in the central administration. Qaracha Khan was appointed *Wakil* ⁶⁰ while Khwaja Abul Qasim Mashhadi and Khwaja Qasim were given the

55 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, 1997, p. 19

56 Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, tr. by A.J Syed, p. 129. “ It is said that owing to the loyal and faithful sacrifice of his life by Shaikh Mir, Aurangzeb, the discriminating cherisher and protector of his servants, paid great regard to all the people of *Khawaf*. Khawaf is one of the most despised territories of Khorasan, and I have not found in any history of the reigns of past kings the prominence and promotion which the people of Khawaf obtained in the time of Aurangzeb. As compared with the other people of Khorasan, the people of Khawaf are crude in their appearance and lack personality; nevertheless, in most of their work they are honest and efficient, and they may be reckoned among the staunchest of men in loyalty to their master’s salt.”

57 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, 1997, p. 20.

58 Farruki, p. 267.

59 *Humayun nama*, p. 330.

60 Charles Stewart, *Memoirs of Humayun*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 86. Qaracha khan was so much loyal to the king that when Prince Kamran sent a message to him that he wanted to speak to him and that if he did not come, he should put his son Sirdar Beg to death.

offices of *Diwan* and *Diwan-i-Bayutat* respectively. At the same time, loyal adherents, who had been with the King during the years of exile or those who had joined his service in Persia, were also given important posts at the Centre. Among them were Khwaja Sultan Muhammad Rishdi, Husain Quli Sultan,⁶¹ Khwaja Jalal-ud-din Mahmud,⁶² who were given the offices of *Wazir*, *Muhardar* and *Mir-i-Saman* respectively. Apparently, Khwaja Sultan Muhammad Rushdi, who was appointed *Wazir* in 1545 was opposed by some of the officials of his own department and those of *Bayutat*, *the Diwan*, *The Mushrif*, *the Diwan-i-Bayutat*. This situation led to the assassination of the *Wazir* by Khwaja Muazzam in 1546, when Humayun was staying in Badakhshan.⁶³ Khwaja Qasim Mashhadi, Asad, Khwaja qasim and others who were a party to the crime fled to the Kabul along with Khwaja Muazzam, however they were made prisoner by Humayun.⁶⁴ Iqtidar Alam Khan writes that the fact that the officials of the treasury were a party to the murder of the *Wazir* strongly suggests that it was not entirely the result of Khwaja Mu 'azzam's religious fanaticism.⁶⁵ The conflict among the nobles as to who should control the department of treasury had also something to do with this incident.⁶⁶ Following the murder of Khwaja Rushdi, the office of *Wizarat* was given to Qaracha Khan (end of 1546) as he was both the *Wazir* and *Wakil* in 1548.⁶⁷ In the beginning of 1547, the King appointed Khwaja Ghazi, a man of exceptional abilities and a royal favourite, to the office of *Mushrif-i-Diwan*.⁶⁸ However, towards the end of 1549, Khwaja Ghazi was

When Qaracha represented this to the King, who said, "if he does, I will be your son" to which the Qaracha replied, "I consider each hair of your Majesty's head worth the life of a son."

61 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op.cit.*, 1991, p.26.

62 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, tr. H. Blochmann, p. 417. "Jalau-d-Din was in the service of M.Askari. He had sent him from Qandhar to Garmsir, to collect taxes, when Humayun passed through the district on his way to Persia. The Emperor called him, and Jalal presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humayun conferred on him title of Mir Saman, which in the circumstances was an empty distinction." Also see Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. Ct*, p. 28.

63 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

64 *Ibid.*

65 *Ibid*

66 *Ibid.*

67 *Ibid.*

68 *Ibid*, p. 27.

dismissed.⁶⁹ During the period of his stay in Afghanistan, Humayun had been able to bring to the forefront a generation of new nobles who rallied round the king in his efforts to curb the powers of disgruntled elements. Among the officials of the *Diwani*, Khwaja sultan Ali and Khwaja Mirza beg may be taken as the typical representative of the new type of the nobles. In 1550, Humayun raised Khwaja Sultan Ali to the Status of *Wazir* while Khwaja Mirza Beg continued to work as the *Diwan*.⁷⁰ From this time onwards, till Humayun's death, there any notable changes in the personnel of *Diwani*. Throught this period, Khwaja Sultan Ali, continued as the *Wazir*. This was possible, because Humayun had succeeded in smashing the powers of old nobles after the battle of Ushtar Gram (1551).

During the reign of Akbar, which spanned near about 50 years, he had appointed various nobles to the important offices of *Wakil*, *Sadr*, *Mir Bakhshi*, *Hakim*, *Diwan*, in Mughal Empire. There were 19 persons in all, belonging to different religions and races who occupied various important portfolios in Central ministry, out of which, 11 were Iranis occupying 57.89 percent central ministries and 3 were Turanis occupying 15.79 percent.⁷¹ Turanis and Iranis were appointed to the important offices of *Wakil*, *Sadr*, *Mir Bakhshi*, *Hakim*, *Diwan*, *Subedar*, *Qiledar* during the reign of Akbar.⁷² For instance Bairam Khan, was appointed as *Wakil-i-Saltanate* in 1555-56,⁷³ in 1559-60 after the rebellion and dismissal of Bairam Khan, Munim Khan was appointed as *Wakil*,⁷⁴ in 1573-74 Muzaffar Khan Turbati, an Irani was appointed as *Wakil*,⁷⁵ in 1594-95 Aziz Koka, a Turani was made *Wakil*.⁷⁶ Similarly the office of *Diwan* or *Wazir* was also held by various Turanis and Iranis, For

69 *Ibid*, p.28.

70 *Ibid*, p. 29. "He came to prominence suddenly in 1550. In that year, Humayun, on his return from Balkh, put the whole department of the *diwani* in charge of Khwaja Mirza Beg."

71 M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, Delhi; Oxford University Press, 1985, p.xxvii-xxviii.

72 *Ibid*.

73 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.330.

74 *Ibid*, p. 333. "He joined Akbar, in Zi Hijja, 967, at Ludhiana, where Akbar encamped on his expedition against Bairam. M. was then appointed *Khan Khanan* and *Vakil*."

75 M. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. xxvii.

76 Abul Fazl, *Op. cit.*, p.345. M. Athar Ali, *Ibid*.

instance, Mir Azizullah Turbati; Khwaja Jalalud-Din Mahmud of Khurasan;⁷⁷ Muzaffar Khan Turbati;⁷⁸ Shah Mansur Shirazi;⁷⁹ Wazir Khan;⁸⁰ Khwaja Shamsuddin;⁸¹ Khwaja Abdul-Majid Asaf Khan,⁸² were the prominent Iranis on this post whereas, Khwaja Muinud-Din Farankhudi;⁸³ Qulij Khan⁸⁴ were the Turanis holding this post.⁸⁵ Iranis like, Khwaja Tahir of Sijistan;⁸⁶ Maulana Darwesh Muhammad; Muqim;⁸⁷ Muhammad Hussain Lashkar Khan,⁸⁸ Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Ali Asaf Khan,⁸⁹ Nizamuddin Ahmad,⁹⁰ Khwajagi Fathullah⁹¹ were holding the post of *Mir Bakhshi*. The office of *Sadrus Sudur* was occupied by prominent Turanis like Khwaja Abdul Azim and Iranis like Fathullah Shirazi, Mir Sharif Amuli.⁹²

Under Jahangir, in Central Ministry, the strength of Turanis declined as compared to the previous years, however majority of the important posts were occupied by Iranis.

77 *Ibid*, p. 417.

78 *Ibid*, p. 373. “ Though several courtiers advised Emperor to kill Muzaffar, he pardoned him, and made him *Amil* (Collector) of the *Pargana* of Parsaror. Subsequently Akbar made him *Diwan-i-Bayutat* (Collector of the Imperial Stores, etc.), and at last *Divan* of the Empire, with the title of Muzaffar Khan.”

79 *Ibid*, p. 475. “Mansur was first *mushrif* (accountant) of the *Khushbu-Khana*. Differences which he had with Muzaffar Khan induced Sh. Mansur to go to Jaunpur, where Khan Zaman made him his *Diwan*. Subsequently he served Munim Khan Khanan in the same capacity. After Munim’s death he worked for a short time with Todar mal in financial matters. In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor *Vazir*.” Athar Ali, op. ct. has mentioned the year of Shah Mansur Shirazi’s appointment as from 1576-7 to 1580-1.

80 *Ibid*, p.380. “ In the 25th year, Akbar appointed him *Vazir* in the place of Shah Mansur and soon after governor of Awadh.

81 *Ibid*, pp.494,495.

82 *Ibid*, pp.395-397. He was the brother of Vazir Khan and was a grandee of Humayun.

83 *Ibid*, p. 480. His name suggests that he was from near Samarqand.

84 *Ibid*, p. 35. He is first mentioned during the seventeenth year of Akbar’s reign. After the death of Shah Mansur, he was appointed as *Diwan*. After the death of Todar Mal, he was again appointed as *Diwan*

85 *Ibid*, p. 595. Athar ali, *Op.Ct.*, xxvii-xxviii.

86 *Ibid*, p. 468.

87 *Ibid*, p. 593. In the end of 35th year, he was made *Bakhshi*.

88 *Ibid*, p. 446. He was *Mir Bakhshi* and *Mir Arz*.

89 *Ibid*, pp. 451-454.

90 *Ibid*, p. 581.

91 *Ibid*, p. 560.

92 *Ibid*, p. 185.

For instance, there were 17 Central ministers in which 13 were significantly Iranis with an overwhelmingly majority of 76.47 percent. In disparity with them, there were only one Turani who name was *Wazir ul Mulk*.⁹³ During the reign of Jahangir, except one Turani *Wazir-ul Mulk*, all his *Mir Bakhshi* were Iranis and so were all his *Mir Samans*.⁹⁴ The *sadrs* formed the sole exception to this process of Iranization, as according to Athar Ali, being a semi-theological office, there was a basic preference for those who were Sunnis and Iranis were Shias. Thus whereas Akbar during the period 1577-8 to 1605, had two Irani as *Sadrs* for about nine years, Jahangir had only one and that during his last three years only.⁹⁵

Under Jahangir, the office of *Wakil* was held by *Amir ul Umara* Sharif,⁹⁶ Itimad ud-daula,⁹⁷ Asaf Khan,⁹⁸ Mahabat Khan all of whom were Iranis. Jafar beg Asaf Khan, Wazir Khan,⁹⁹ Itimad ud-daula, Khwaja Abul Hasan¹⁰⁰ were the prominent Iranis holding the post of *Diwan* whereas *Wazir-ul-Mulk*¹⁰¹ was the only Turani on this post.¹⁰² The office of *Mir Bakhshi* was held by Iranis like Abdur Razzaq Ma'muri,¹⁰³ Khwaja Abul Hasan,¹⁰⁴ Ibrahim Khan,¹⁰⁵ Sadiq Khan,¹⁰⁶ Muzaffar Khan, Iradat

93 Muhammad Ziauddin, *Role of Persians at the Mughal Court: A Historical Study During 1526 A.D. to 1707 A.D.*, Pakistan Research Repository, p. 82.

94 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p. xxii.

95 *Ibid.*

96 Noor-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 14. Regarding him, Jahangir writes "As he had perfect confidence in his friendship, intelligence, learning and acquaintance with affairs, having made him Grand Vizier, I promoted him to the rank of 5,000."

97 *Ibid.*, p. 200. "On the 14th Amardad, on account of the previous service and great sincerity and ability of Itimadu-d-daulah, I bestowed on him the high rank of the *viziership* of kingdom.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 16. "Asaf khan, who in my father's time was one of his confidential servants, and for a long time had been confirmed in the post of *Bakhshi* and afterwards made *diwan ba istiqlat*; him I advanced from the rank of an *Amir* to that of *Vizier*."

99 *Ibid.*, p.20.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 202. He was the son of Itimad-ud-daulah and brother of Nur Jahan.

101 *Ibid.*, p.20. "The *Viziership* of my dominion I gave in the proportions of half and half to Khan Beg and to Wazir Khan."

102 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p. xxix.

103 Noor-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir, *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 256. "On Wednesday, the 11th, Khwaja Abu-l-hasan was made general paymaster and received a dress of honour."

Khan¹⁰⁷ with the only exception of one Turani *Wazir-ul Mulk* who was a Turani.¹⁰⁸ Iranis like Mir Muhammad baqir, Iradat Khan,¹⁰⁹ Mir Jumla,¹¹⁰ Afzal khan were on the post of Mir Saman, and on the post of *Sadrus Sudur*, there was only one Irani named Mir Ali Askar, Musavi Khan.¹¹¹

Iranis and Turanis in Central Administration¹¹²

Racial Catagory	Central Ministers	%
Iranis	13	76.47
Turanis	1	5.88
Total	17	100%

There was not even a single Turani as compared to 18 Iranis under Shahjahan constituting 81.82 percent,¹¹³ of the overall 22 Central Ministers, thus demonstrating the virtual Persian monopoly. Soon after his accession, Shah Jahan promoted Asaf Khan to the highest rank of 9000 and as a commander of 9,000 *du-aspa* and *si-aspa* troopers, his salary was 16 *krors*, 20 lacs of dams, or 4,050,000 rupees and besides he had *jagirs* yielding a revenue of five million of rupees¹¹⁴ and confirmed him in the post of *wakil* which he held till his death in 1641 A.D.¹¹⁵ It is worth to note that after the death of Asaf Khan, Shah Jahan did not fill the post of *wakil*. Though Shah Jahan's initial *diwans* were Indian Muslims who remained in office for ten years, however for the next twenty years of the reign of Shah Jahan, the office of *diwan*

105 *Ibid*, p.260.

106 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 222.

107 He was the brother of Asaf Khan.

108 M. Ather Ali, *Op. cit.*

109 Jahangir, *Op. cit*, Vol.II, p. 15.

110 *Ibid*, p. 175.

111 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p.xxix.

112 Muhammad Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p. 82.

113 Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, 1985, p.xxx. Also see Muhammad Ziauddin, p. 92.

114 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p. 575.

115 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, 1985, p.95. He is mentioned in 1627-28 A.D. as *Wakil* and *Subedar* of Lahore

was filled by Iranis alone.¹¹⁶ Iradat Khan,¹¹⁷ Afzal Khan Shirazi, Islam Khan Mashhadi, Mu'azzam Khan Mir Jumla, Ja'far Khan were the Iranis on the position of *Diwan-i-Kul*.¹¹⁸ All the thirteen *mir bakhshi* of Shah Jahan were Iranis; Iradat Khan, Sadiq Khan, Islam Khan Mashhadi, Mir Jumla, Mutamad Khan, Salabat Khan, Asalat Khan, Jafar Khan, Khalilullah Khan, Lahrasp khan, Danishmand Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan.¹¹⁹ Except for three years when Sa'dullah Khan was *Mir-Saman*, Iranis held this office for the remaining years of the three decades of Shah Jahan's reign; Afzal Khan, Mir Jumla, Makramat Khan, Fazil Khan were on the post of *Mir Saman*. On the post for *Sadrus Sudur*, the sole Irani *Sadr* Musavi Khan of Jahangir's reign continued under Shah Jahan for fifteen years.¹²⁰ However later, Sayyid Jalal Bukhari was also appointed on that post.¹²¹

Iranis and Turanis in Central Ministeries During 1628-1658 A.D.¹²²

Racial Catagory	Central Ministers	%
Iranis	18	81.82%
Turanis	0	-
Total	22	100%

The reign of Aurangzeb too is marked by the domination of Iranis in the Central ministries and he continued to show favour to newly arrived Persians as well as to those already settled in India. The first *diwan* of Aurangzeb was a Persian, Ala-ul-mulk Tuni, surnamed Fazil Khan,¹²³ a master of elegant prose and verse and a man of unblemished character, who had long enjoyed ex-Emperor's confidence and filled

116 *Ibid*, p. xxii

117 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p.32.

118 *Ibid*, p.xxx.

119 *Ibid*. p. xxx. Also see Ziauddin, p. 92.

120 *Ibid*.

121 Inayat Khan, p.298.

122 *Ibid*.

123 Khafi Khan, *Op. cit.*, p. 212. " Raja Raghunath, the *naib Wazir* died, and Fazil Khan, the *Khan-i-Saman*, was appointed *naib Wazir* in his place, and given the *khil'at* of the office and an ornamented *qalamdan*. But he died sixteen days after he had put on the *Khil'at*. The deceased Fazil Khan was one of the leaders and well-born men of Khorasan and had no rival in honesty and character."

high offices about court.¹²⁴ Jafar Khan succeeded him as *Wazir* (1663-1670).¹²⁵ His close connection with the Emperor's family caused him to be regarded in the light of a prince of blood, and he enjoyed the constant favour of Shahjahan and received the frequent visits at his house from that Emperor and his sons.¹²⁶ After him, no successor was appointed for several years, and during this interval, Aurangzeb acted as his own Prime-Minister. In 1676, Asad Khan¹²⁷ was invested as grand *Wazir* and presented by the Emperor with the badge of that high office, viz., a jewelled inkpot. Asad Khan served as *Wazir* for 31 years, and retired only on Aurangzib's death.¹²⁸ Almost all of the *Bakhshis* of Aurangzib were Iranis like Muhammad Amin Khan (1659-1667), Danishmand Khan (1667-1670), Lashkar Khan (July 1670-January 1671), Asad Khan (Feb 1671-Oct. 1676), Sarbuland Khan, (Turani) (Oct 1676-Dec 1679), Himmat Khan (oct 1680-1681), Ashraf Khan (jan 1681-Sep 1686), Ruhullah Khan I (Sep 1686-July 1692), Bahramand Khan (July 1662-Nov 1702), Nusrat Jang (Nov 1702-1707). Out of these Iranis, Danishmand Khan, being himself a Iranis emigrant and others were the sons and grandsons of refugees from that country.¹²⁹ All his *Khan-Samans* were Iranis for instance, Fazil Khan I,¹³⁰ Iftikar Khan, Ashraf Khan, Ruhullah Khan I, Muhammad Ali Khan, Kamgar Khan, Fazil Khan III, Khanazad Khan, Khudaband Khan.¹³¹

124 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History Of Aurangzeb, Vol. III*, p. 42. He lived to enjoy his dignity for 16 days only (7th-23rd June, 1663).

125 Khafi Khan, *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

126 *Ibid*, p. 42.

127 *Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri or Letters of Aurangzebe*, tr. from the Persian into English by Jamshid H. Bilimoria, p. 174. He is mentioned as 'the best of the kingdom' and 'pivot of state affairs'. Also see p. 90. He was son of Zulfikar Khan. At first he served Shah Jahan. He was second paymaster of Shah Jahan and of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzebe appointed him his minister in 1670 after the death of Ja'afar Khan. In 1674 he resigned the ministership, but in 1677 was made prime minister.

128 *Ibid*, p.44.

129 *Ibid*, p. 45.

130 The *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* of Aqil Khan Razi, edited by Khan bahadur Maulvi Haji Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1946, pp.24, 25.

131 *Ibid*. The author has given detailed list of various *Khan-i-Samans*, *Sadar-us-sadurs*, *Chief Qazis* and *Censors* under Aurangzeb.

AWARDS OF MANSABS AND TITLES TO THEM

Every officer serving in the army and every official in the bureaucracy was given a *mansab* or a pair of *mansabs* upon appointment; any promotion in rank and emoluments was indicated by addition to the numbers; conversely, demotions took the form of diminutions of *mansabs*.¹³² Thus Iranis and Turanis were also appointed as *mansabdars*¹³³ along with other sections of Mughal nobility. According to Iqtidar Alam Khan, during the first twenty year's of Akbar's reign, i.e. 1556-75, among the high nobles enjoying the *mansabs* of 500 and above, the Iranis and Khurasanis represented 38.58 percent of the total strength placing them at par with the Turanis representing 39.58 percent of the total in the same set of ranks.¹³⁴ However, during the later years of Akbar's reign, the strength of Iranis in the *mansabs* declined down to 21.95 percent instead of 38.58 percent and the Turanis remained stood almost with little bit less at 37.40 percent against their previous 39.58 percent.¹³⁵ Under him there were many Iranis and Turanis who were holding the highest *mansabs*. For instance Turanis like Mirza Shahrukh was given *mansab* of 7,000,¹³⁶ Mirza Sulaiman received *mansab* of 6,000,¹³⁷ Mirza Rustum was too made *panj hazari*,¹³⁸ Tardi Beg, Munim Khan, Ali Quli Khan, Shamsuddin Muhammad Atga Khan, Khan-i-Kalan Mir Muhammad, Adham Khan, Bahadur Khan Shaibani, Quli Khan Barlas, Qutbuddin Khan, Mirza Aziz Koka, Muqim Arab, Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain, Qiya Khan Gung, Said Khan Chaghtai, were all given *mansabs* of 5,000 and Iranis like Hussain Quli Khan, Tarsun Muhammad Khan, Mirza Khan, Mirza Rustam Safavi, Mirza Rustum, Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* were holding the rank of 5,000.

132 Athar Ali, 1985, *Op.cit.*, p.xi.

133 For details on Mansabdari system effected by Akbar in the eleventh year of his reign, see M. Athar Ali, *Op. Ct*, 1997, p. 38-73. Also see Satish Chandra, *Medieval India; From Sultanat To The Mughals, Vol.II*, New Delhi, rpt. 2005.

134 Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Mughal Empire and the Iranian Diaspora of the Sixteenth Century," *A Shared Heritage; The Growth of Civilizations in India and Iran*, (Ed.) Irfan Habib, Aligarh Historians Society, New Delhi, 2002, p. 105

135 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, 1985, p. xx.

136 Abul Fazl, *Op. cit.*, pp. 326, 327.

137 *Ibid*, pp. 324-326.

138 *Ibid*, pp. 328,329.

Irani and Turani Mansabdars 500-3000 and Above 3000 during 1595 A.D.¹³⁹

Racial catagory	Mansabs 500-2500	Mansabs 3000-above	Total	%
Iranis	18	9	27	21.95
Turanis	38	8	46	37.40
Total	98	25	123	100%

Under Jahangir, Iranis and Turanis were occupying the highest *mansabs*. for instance *Amiru-l-Umara* Sharif Khan was given the *mansab* of 5,000,¹⁴⁰ Itimadu-d-daulah was promoted to the *mansab* of 5,000 personal and 2,000 horse,¹⁴¹ Asaf Khan was promoted to the command of 5,000 horse.¹⁴² In the category of 500-5000 and above, out of total of 242 *mansabs*, Iranis were occupying 68 *mansabs* with 28.10 percent and the Turanis were having 48 *mansabs* with 19.84 %. Thus Iranis and Turanis were having preponderance than other groups in the *mansabdari* system under Jahangir. Out of Iranis and Turanis, it were Iranis who were having more strength in the *mansabs*, thus showing their politically important positions under Jahangir.

Irani and Turani in Mughal Mansabdars 500-5000 and above during 1621 A.D.¹⁴³

Racial category	Mansabs 500-900	Mansabs 1000-4500	Mansabs 5000-above	Grand Total	%
Iranis	18	42	8	68	28.10
Turanis	11	32	5	48	19.84
Total	70	148	24	242	100

139 M. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, 1985, p.xx.

140 *Ibid*, p. 14.

141 *Ibid*, p. 260.

142 *Ibid*, p. 16.

143 M. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, 1985.,p.xx.

Under Shah Jahan, there was increase in the numerical strength of the Turanis in high and medium *mansabs* between 1637-8 and 1656-7, though this is by no means dramatic and not, apparently at the expense of the Iranis.¹⁴⁴ During 1637-38 A.D, in the rank of 500-5000 and above, out of total 149 *mansabs*, Iranis were occupying 113 *mansabs* with the 26.97 percent, while Turanis were on 85 *mansabs* having 20.29 percent.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, during the years 1656-57 A.D. in the *mansabs* of 500-5000 and above, out of total 518 *mansabs*, Iranis were On 139 posts with 26.83 percent whereas Turanis were dwelled in 123 posts by 23.75 percent.¹⁴⁶ It is worth to notice that while among medium *mansabs*, Iranis and Turanis were almost largely equal in number, the disproportionate advancement of Iranis and the relative decline of Turanis are a marked feature in the ranks of 5000 and above.¹⁴⁷ It shows that Iranis were being more favoured for promotions than Turanis.

Iranis and Turanis as Mughal Mansabdars During 1637-1638 A.D.¹⁴⁸

Racial Catagory	Mansabs 500-900	Mansabs 1000-4500	Mansabs 5000-above	Grand Total	%
Iranis	53	50	10	113	26.97
Turanis	42	39	4	85	20.29
Total	225	171	23	419	100%

Iranis and Turanis as Mughal Mansabdars During 1656-1657 A.D.¹⁴⁹

Racial Catagory	Mansabs 500-900	Mansabs 1000-4500	Mansabs 5000-above	Grand Total	%
Iranis	64	66	9	139	26.83
Turanis	70	49	4	123	23.75
Total	270	223	25	518	100%

144 *Ibid.*

145 *Ibid*, p. xx. Also see Muhammad Ziauddin, p. 90.

146 *Ibid.*

147 *Ibid.*

148 Muhammad Ziauddin, p. 90.

149 *Ibid*, p. 91.

Under Aurangzeb, Iranis and Turanis comprised over 51.5 % of the nobles of 1000 zat and above in 1656-57 and practically the same percentage (51.6 %) during the period 1658-78. Here too, except for a greater enhancement of the Iranis share at the expense of Turanis, the situation remained unchanged between the last years of Shah Jahan and the first two decades of Aurangzeb's reign.¹⁵⁰ Satish Chandra writes, "The Iranis and Turanis, for whom the word Mughal was used, continued to be the largest group in the nobility, forming as much as 40% of the nobles holding ranks of 1,000 Zat and above even during the last 25 years of Aurangzeb's reign, between 1679-1707. However, less than a quarter of these, i.e. less than 10% of the total nobles holding a *mansab* of 1,000 *zat* and above had been born outside India. During 1658-1678 A.D, out of total of 486 nobles, holding *mansab* ranks from 1000 to 5,000 and above, 67 were Turanis and 136 were Iranis, however during 1679-1707 A.D, out of 575 nobles, 126 were Turanis while 72 were Iranis."¹⁵¹

Composition of Iranis and Turanis in the Nobility 1658-1678¹⁵²

Ranks	Iranis	Turanis
Mansabdars of 5,000 and above	23	9
Mansabdars of 3,000 to 4,500	32	16
Mansabdars of 1,000 to 2,700	81	42

Composition of Iranis and Turanis in the nobility 1679-1707¹⁵³.

Rank	Iranis	Turanis
Mansabdars of 5,000 and above	14	6
Mansabdars of 3,000 to	40	22

150 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, 1997, p. xvi.

151 *Ibid*, p.35.

152 *Ibid*, p.35

153 *Ibid*.

4,500		
Mansabdars of 1,000 to 2,700	72	44

Besides, Titles were also conferred on Iranis and Turanis by the Mughal Emperors. With regard to titles, Manucci writes in *Storia do Mogor*, “The King confers these names (by which the nobles were known) either as a mark of distinction and of the esteem he holds them in by reasons of their services, or else from friendship and liking. These lords can acquire more wealth as well as more titles.”¹⁵⁴ The Mughal borrowed from the Sultans of Delhi the practice of bestowing titles upon their amirs.¹⁵⁵ For instance Khwaja Abul Majid received the title of *Asaf Khan* by Akbar.¹⁵⁶ Muzaffar Khan Turbati (I) has received the title of *Jumdat ul Mulk*, Mirza Aziz Koka was given the title of *Azam Khan*,¹⁵⁷ Muqim-i-Arab was given the title of *Shujaat Khan*,¹⁵⁸ Mir Abu Turab received the title of *Amin-ul-Mulk*, Husain Quli Khan has received the title of *Khan-i-Jahan*,¹⁵⁹ Muhammad Beg received the title of *Zulfiqar Khan*, Abul Hasan Mashhadi received the title of *Lashkar Khan* Turanis like Qutbuddin Khan received the title of *Beglar Begi*, Haji Be Uzbek received the title of *Uzbek Khan*.

Under Jahangir too, they received high sounding titles. Regarding Sharif Khan, Jahangir himself writes that when he was a prince, he gave him the title of *Khan* and presented him with a drum and the *tuman-togh* (standard of yak tails). After the accession of Jahangir, he was given the lofty title of *Amiru-l-umara*, “to which no title of my servants is superior.”¹⁶⁰ Ghiyas Beg was given the title of *Itimadu-d-daula*,¹⁶¹

154 Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, tr. William Irvine, ‘Mogul India’, p. 162.

155 P.S. Bedi, *The Mughal Nobility Under Akbar*, 1985, p. 102.

156 *Ibid*, p.396. “On Akbar’s accession, he performed military duties. When the Emperor moved to the Punjab, to crush Bayram’s rebellion, Abdul-Majid received the title of *Asaf Khan*.”

157 *Ibid*. “In 25th year (988), Aziz Koka was promoted to the command of 5,000 and got title of *Azam Khan*.”

158 *Ibid*, p. 401.

159 *Ibid*, pp. 348-351. He received the title of *Khan-i-Jahan* after the suppression of *Mirzas*.

160 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p.14.

Zamana Beg was given the title of *Mahabat Khan*,¹⁶² Khwaja Abul Hasan received the title of *Itiqad Khan*¹⁶³ and later *Asaf Khan* by Jahangir.¹⁶⁴ Jan Beg received the title of *Waziru-l-mulk* when Jahangir was a prince.¹⁶⁵ Amanu-lah, son of Mahabat Khan was conferred the title of Khan-zad Khan.¹⁶⁶ Mirza Barkhurdar was given the title of *Khan-i-Alam* in 1605-6¹⁶⁷, Abul Be Uzbek was given the title of *Bahadur Khan* in the same year¹⁶⁸, Pukhta Beg was given the title of *Sardar Khan*¹⁶⁹, Mirza Jani Beg was given the title of *Wazir-ul-Mulk*¹⁷⁰, Shah Beg Khan was given the title of *Khan-i-Dauran* in 1606-7¹⁷¹, Shamsuddin Khan son of Azam Khan was given the title of *Jahangir Khan* in 1608-9¹⁷², Barkhurdar brother of Abdullah Khan was given the title of *Bahadur Khan*¹⁷³, Abdullah, son of Azam Khan was given the title of *Sarfraz Khan*¹⁷⁴, Abdur Rahim son of Qasim Khan was given the title of *Tarbiyat Khan*¹⁷⁵, Khwaja Taqi was given the title of *Mutamad Khan* in the same year¹⁷⁶. In 1609-10 Mirza Barkhurdar was given the new title of *Khan-i-Alam*, in 1610-11, Khurram,

161 *Ibid*, p. 22.

162 *Ibid*, p.24.

163 *Ibid*, p. 202.

164 *Ibid*, p. 260. "On the 3rd I conferred on I'tiqad Khan a *mansab* of 3,000 personal and 1,000 horse, increasing thus which he had already, which was of 2,000 personal and 500 horse, and I distinguished him with the title of Asaf Khan, with which title two of his family members had been previously honoured."

165 *Ibid*, p. 20.

166 *Ibid*, p. 257.

167 *Ibid*, p. 154.

168 M. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. 42.

169 *Ibid*, p. 43.

170 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p.20.

171 *Ibid*, p. 28. "Having entitled Shah Beg Khan *Khan-dauran*, I presented him with a jeweled dagger, a male elephant, and a special horse. The whole of the *Sarkars* of Tirah, Kabul, Bangash, and the province of Sawad (Swat) Bajaur, with the task of beating back the Afghans of those regions, and a *jagir* and the faujdarship were confirmed to him."

172 *Ibid*, p.477.

173 *Ibid*, p.146.

174 *Ibid*, p.149.

175 *Ibid*,p.149.

176 *Ibid*, p. 126.

another son of *Khan-i-Azam* was given the title of *Kamal Khan*¹⁷⁷, Sadullah Khan was given the title of *Nawazish Khan* in 1611-12¹⁷⁸, Chin Qulij son of Qulij Khan was given the title of *Khan*¹⁷⁹, Shadman, son of *Khan-i-Azam* was also given the title of *Khan* in same year¹⁸⁰, Abul Be Uzbek was given the title of *Bahadur Khan* in 1612-13, Khwaja Yadgar was given the title of *Sardar Khan* in 1613-14¹⁸¹, Yaqub Badakhshi was given the title of *Khan* in the same year¹⁸², in 1616 Haji Be Uzbek was given the title of *Uzbek Khan*¹⁸³, Makhi, son of Iftikhar Khan was given the title of *Murawwat Khan*, Abul Aziz was also given the title of *Khan* in the same year, Balju, nephew of Qulij Khan was given the title of *qulij Khan* in 1616-17, Hidayatullah was given the title of *Fedai Khan* in 1617¹⁸⁴, Ibrahim Hussain Kashghari was given the title of *Khushkhabar Khan* in 1622-23¹⁸⁵. After that, we don't find any reference of Turani noble receiving any title, the main reason for that being the declining health of Jahangir and the increasing reliance being put on Irani nobles.

The same trend of conferment of titles continued under Shah Jahan. For instance in 1635, Yamin ud Daula Asaf Khan was invested with the title of *Khan Khanan* and *Sipah-Salar*.¹⁸⁶ Abdal Beg (T) was conferred title of *Kotwal Khan* in 1657-58;¹⁸⁷ Mir Miran (I) was given title of *Mir Khan* in 1657-58;¹⁸⁸ Muzaffar Hussain was given title of *Fidai Khan*;¹⁸⁹ Khwaja Rahmatullah (t) was given title of *Sarbuland Khan*;¹⁹⁰ Mir Jumla was given the title of *Mu'azzam Khan* in 1656¹⁹¹; Mir Gul

177 *Ibid*, p. 188.

178 *Ibid*, p. 197.

179 *Ibid*, p. 199

180 *Ibid*, p. 203.

181 *Ibid*, 237.

182 *Ibid*, 244.

183 *Ibid*, 285.

184 *Ibid*, p.383.

185 M. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, 1985, p. 83.

186 Inayat Khan, p.148.

187 M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, 1985, p. 321.

188 *Ibid*, p. 320.

189 *Ibid*, p. 318.

190 *Ibid*, p. 303

191 *Ibid*, p.299.

Badakhshi was given the title of *Mubariz Khan*¹⁹²; Shaista Khan was given the title of *Khan-i-Jahan* in 1655-56¹⁹³; Mulla Shafiya was given the title of *Danishmand Khan*¹⁹⁴; Khwaja Wiqar (T) was given the title of *Mahram Khan*; Khanazad Khan was given the title of *Itiqad Khan* in 1651-52;¹⁹⁵ Yadgar Beg was given title of *Jan Nisar Khan*;¹⁹⁶ Ali Mardan Khan was given the title of *Amir ul Umara* in 1642-43¹⁹⁷; Lahrasp was given title of *Khan*, Muhammad Shaikh was given title of *Khanazad Khan*, Mir Ziauddin Ali was given the title of *Siyadat Khan* and Turanis like Said Khan Bahadur was given title of *Zafar Jung*, Abul Baqa was given title of *Iftikhar Khan*, Yusuf Beg Kabuli was given the title of *Himmat Khan*¹⁹⁸.

Aurangzeb was very generous in conferring titles and regarding his generosity, Manucci writes, “At present there is a very great number of them; but in Shah Jahan’s days, it was not so, and it was very hard to acquire these titles, for it was at once necessary to give a heavy payment and produce enough to maintain great display. But now-a-days Aurangzeb pays less heed to the matter and gives the title but with less pay.”¹⁹⁹ Thus number of titles was given to various nobles including Iranis and Turanis. For instance, Shaista Khan was given the title of *Khan-i-Jahan* in 1656 due to his taking part in Deccan war with Aurangzeb. In 1658, Aurangzeb conferred on him the title of *Amir-ul-Umara* when he came to his side by deserting Shah Jahan and Dara.²⁰⁰ Mir Ziau-d-Din Hussain was conferred the title of *Himmat Khan* and later Islam Khan.²⁰¹ Asad Khan had received the title of *Amir-ul-Umara* from Aurangzeb in

192 *Ibid*, p.297

193 *Ibid*, p. 295.

194 *Ibid*, p.287.

195 *Ibid*, p.266.

196 *Ibid*, p.204

197 *Ibid*, p.185.

198 *Ibid*, p.157.

199 Manucci, *Op. cit.*, p. 369.

200 *Ruka’at-i-Alamgiri*, *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

201 *The Waqiat-I-Alamgiri of Aqil Khan Razi*, ed. By Khan Bahadur Maulvi Haji Zafar Hasan, New Delhi, 1946, p.15.

1702.²⁰² Nizam ul Mulk was conferred the title of *Chin Qulich Khan* in 1699, Meer Khan was honoured with the title of *Ameer Khan* in 1675.²⁰³

THEIR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN VARIOUS POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS-

Irani and Turani nobles assisted Babur in his thick and thin. From Farghana to Hindustan, these nobles accompanied him and took part in various political campaigns for Babur. For instance, when after the death of Umar Sheikh Mirza, in 1494, the Farghana was invaded by Babur's paternal uncle, Sl. Ahmad Mirza, and Mahmud Khan, the grand Khan of Mughals,²⁰⁴ at that time Turanis like Khwaja Maulana-i-qazi, Khwaja Muhammad, Hasan, son of Yaqub, Auzan (Long) Hasan, Qasim Quchin helped Babur as a result of which Farghana was safeguarded.²⁰⁵ Regarding this episode, Babur himself writes in *Babur nama* that "They found in our soldiers and peasants a resolution and single-mindedness such as would not let them flinch from making offering of their lives so long as there was breath and power in their bodies."²⁰⁶ These Turani nobles were with him in his two attempts on Samarqand, and during his march towards towards Andizan.²⁰⁷ When Babur was in Khojand as a homeless exile, about 7 or 800 of his begs left him like Ali darwesh Beg, Ali-mazid Quchin, Muhammad Baqir Beg, Shaikh Abdul-lah, and Mirim Aghari, whereas about between 200 and 300 were with him like Qasim Quchin Beg, Wais Laghari Beg, Ibrahim Saru Mingligh Beg, Shirim Taghai, Sayyidi Qara Beg, mir Shah Quchin, Sayyid Qasim Jalair, Lord of the Gate, Qasimi'ajab, ali dost Taghai's son Muhammad-dost, Muhammad-ali mubashir, Khudai-birdi Tughchi mughul, Yarik Taghai, Baba Ali's son Baba Quli, Pir Wais, Shaikh Wais, Yar-ali Balal, Qasim mir Akhwur and Haider Rikabdar (stirrup holder). Due to his strenuous efforts, he was able to recover Samarqand, but lost it again in 1500. At the battle of Sar-i-Pul, in 1502 A.D, Babur was defeated by Shaibani Khan and many of his Begs were killed like Ibrahim Tarkhan, Ibrahim Saru and Ibrahim Jani; many of his begs fled like Muh.

202 *Ibid.*

203 *Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri, Op. Cit.*, p. 100.

204 Babur, *Op. cit.*, Vol.II, p. 13

205 *Ibid*, pp.29,30,

206 *Ibid*, p. 31.

207 *Ibid*, p.90.

Mazid Tarkhan, Karim-dad-i-Khudai birdi Turkmen, Janaka Kukuldash and Mulla Baba.²⁰⁸ During the next three years, Babur, accompanied by his 200 or 300 followers, wandered from one place to another.²⁰⁹ During Babur's conquest of Kabul, in 1504 A.D, Sayyid Qasim, Ahmad-i-Qasim Kohbar, Baqi Chaghaniani, Baqi Beg were the prominent Turanis who were with him and it was with their help that almost overnight, he became the king of Kabul.²¹⁰ Regarding his Kabul campaign, Babur writes "In the last ten days of the Second Rabi (Oct 1504) that without a fight, without an effort, by almighty God's bounty and mercy, I obtained and made subject to me Kabul and Ghazni and their dependants districts."²¹¹

Being an ambitious man, however Babur could not remain contented with the kingdom of Kabul for long, hence he diverted his attention towards India.²¹² It were predominantly Turanis who accompanied Babur on his various expeditions to India from 1519 to 1526. They took part in the battle of Panipat as Regarding Battle of Panipat, Babur himself writes in *Baburnama* that "Our right was Humayun, Khwaja Kalan, Sultan Muhammed *Duldai*, Hindu Beg, Treasurer Wali and Pir-quli *Sistani* ; our left was Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Shah Mir Hussain, Sl. Junaid *Barlas*, Qutuq-qadam, Jan Beg, pay-master Muhammad, and Shah Hussain (of) Yaragi *Mughul Ghanchi*. The right hand of the centre was Chin-timur Sultan, Sulaiman Mirza, Muhammadi Kukuldash, Shah Mansur *Barlas*, Yunas-i-ali, Darwish-i-muhammad *Sarban* and 'Abdu'l-lah the librarian. The left of the centre was Khalifa, Khwaja Mir-i-miran, Secretary Ahmadi, Tardi Beg (brother) of Quj Beg, Khalifa's Muhibb-i-ali and Mirza Beg Tarkhan. The advance was Khusrau Kukuldash and Muh. Ali *Jang-jang*. Abdu'l-aziz the master of the horse was posted as the reserve. For the turning party (*tulghuma*) at the point of the right wing, we fixed on Red Wali and

208 *Ibid*, p.141.

209 *Ibid*, p.187. "Those who, hoping in me, went with me in exile, were, small and great, between 2 and 300; they were almost all on foot, had walking staves in their hands, brogues on their feet and long coats on their shoulders. So destitute were we that we had but two tents (chadar) amongst us; my own used to be pitched for my mother, and they set an alachuq at each stage for me to sit on."

210 *Ibid*, p. 195-99

211 *Ibid*, p.199.

212 Lane pool, *Babur(Rulers of India*, 2005, p. 88. "From Samarqand to Kabul, and from Kabul to Delhi, has been the road of conquest time after time; until at last another road was ploughed upon the sea, and the Afghan gates were barred by a new race (the British) from the islands in the West."

Malik Qasim (brother) of Baba *Qashqa*, with their Mughuls; for the turning party at the point of the left wing, we arrayed Qara-quzi, Abu'l-muhammad the lance-player, Shaikh Jamal *Barin's* Shaikh Ali, Mahndi and Tingri-birdi *Bashaghi Mughul*".²¹³ In the battle these Turanis and Iranis distinguished themselves. During the battle of Khanwa, many Turanis and Iranis participated²¹⁴ and after victory were rewarded handsomely.²¹⁵ Turanis along with Hindustani Begs participated in battle of Chanderi²¹⁶ as well as campaign against Afghans in the east in which they distinguished themselves.²¹⁷

There were also many examples when these Turani nobles show their devotion towards Humayun. For instance, in his campaign against Gujrat, Humayun was assisted by Turani nobles like Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Kasim Husein Sultan Uzbek, Dost beg Ishekagha, Mir Bochak Behadur, Hindu Beg.²¹⁸ When Humayun planned to move for conquering Bengal, he committed the government of the principal provinces of the crown to his most eminent nobles. "Delhi, he entrusted to Mir Fakr Ali; Agra to Mir Muhammed Bakhshi; Kalpi to Yadgar Nasir Mirza, his cousin and brother-in-law; and Kanauj and the adjoining country to Nur-ed-din Muhammed Mirza, who had also

213 Babur, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, 445-474.

214 *Ibid*, pp. 567, 568, 569. "Commanders of the left wing were Sayyid Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Adil Sultan, son of Mahdi Sultan, Abdul Aziz, Shamsu'd-din Muhammad Ali *Jang-jang*, Jalalu'd-din Qutluq-qadam *qarawal*, Jalalu'd-din Shah Husain *yaragi Mughul Ghanchi* and Nizamu'd-din Jan-i-muhammad Beg Ataka. Commanders of right wing were Qasim-i-husain Sultan, Nizamu'd-din Ahmad-i-yusuf Aughlaqchi, Jalalu'd-din Hindu Beg Quchin, Jalalu'd-din Khusrau Kukuldash, Qawam Beg Aurdu Shah, Wali Qara quiz, Nizamu'd-din Pir Quli os ssistan, Khwaja Kamalu'd-din pahalwan of Badakhshan, Shamsu'd-din Muhammadi Kukuldash. In the Centre were Chin Timur Sultan, Khwaja Kamalu'd-din dost-i-Khawand, Yunas-i-ali, Shah Mansur Barlas, nizamu'd-din Darwish-i-muhammad sarban, Shihabu'd-din Abdu'l-lah, Nizamu'd-din Dost, Shaikh Zain of Khawaf, Nizamu'd-din Tardi Beg."

215 *Ibid*, p. 579.

216 *Ibid*, p. 590. "On Sunday the 19th of month Chin timur Sl. Was put at the head of 6 or 7000 men and sent ahead against Chandiri. With him went the begs Baqi ming-bashi (head of a thousand), Quj Beg's (brother) Tardi beg, mulla Apa, Muhsin duldai and of Hindustani Begs, Sheikh Guran."

217 *Ibid*, pp. 601, 602. "Chin-timur Sl. Was ordered to led his army in pursuit who should move with the Sultan and not go beyond his word;- Muhammad Ali Jang-jang, Husamu'd-din Ali (son) of Khalifa, Muhibb-i-ali (son) of Khalifa, Kuki (son) of Baba Qashqa, Dost-i-muhammad (son) of Baba Qashqa, Baqi of Tashkent, and Red Wali.

218 *Ibid*, p. 78.

married a daughter of Babur.”²¹⁹ After the battle of Kannauj, when Humayun was on his flight, it was a Turani noble Shamsuddin Atka who saved Humayun’s life while the king was crossing the Ganges after the battle.²²⁰

Even while planning the reconquest of India, Humayun invited the chiefs and warriors of Turan to accompany him on his invasion of Hindustan as a result of which many Turanis joined his ranks.²²¹ Even during the conquest of Qandhar and Kabul in 1545 A.D many of the old Turani nobles of Humayun rejoined his service for instance Ulugh Mirza,²²² Fazil Beg,²²³ Monaim Beg’s brother,²²⁴ Kasim Husein Sultan Uzbek, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Monaim Beg, Hindal Mirza,²²⁵ Tardi beg,²²⁶ Bapus Beg,²²⁷ Shah-berdi Khan²²⁸ and some other chiefs of distinction. Gulbadan writes that their arrival excited much joy, and was followed by that of many others, both Amirs and soldiers, who now hastened to return to their allegiance.²²⁹ But these old nobles remained wavering in their loyalty.

When Akbar ascended the throne, as he was a minor, Bairam Khan, an Irani was appointed as his tutor. During his regency, the threat to Kabul from Mirza Sulaiman, the ruler of Badakhshan, was averted, and the kingdom was extended from Kabul to

219 *Ibid*, p. 139.

220 *Ibid*, p.191. “ As they gained the banks, which were very steep, the Emperor found it difficult to mount them, when a soldier, who had just gained the shore, presenting his hand to the Emperor, drew him up. Humayun asked his deliverer’s name, and was answered, Shems-ed-din Muhammed of ghazni, in the service of mirza Kamran. The emperor made him high promises. At this moment he was recognized by Mokadam Beg, one of Kamran’s nobles, who came forward and presented his own horse Shems-ed-din afterwards became one of the most distinguished noblemen of the empire, was made Khan Azim, and was the Atkeh, or foster father, of Akber, in those days a connection of no small importance.”

221 *Ibid*, p. 509. Humayun now proceeded towards Kabul, whence he addressed letters, not only to the different parts of his own dominions, bot to Samarqand, Bokhara, and the cities of the north, inviting adventurers to join him in his granbd enterprise.

222 *Ibid*, p.309.

223 *Ibid*.

224 *Ibid*

225 *Ibid*.

226 *Ibid*, p. 322.

227 *Ibid*.

228 *Ibid*.

229 *Ibid*.

Jaunpur in the east, and upto Ajmer in the west. The powerful fort of Gwalior was captured and an expedition was sent to conquer Malwa. Attempt was also made to capture Ranthambhor, but the idea had to be dropped due to Bairam's downfall.²³⁰

Iranis and Turanis assisted Akbar in his various expeditions in different parts of India. For instance, it was under Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan, both Turanis, under whom the expedition of Malwa was undertaken in 1561. Similarly Asaf Khan was sent in 1564 against Garh Katanga, in which he was successful not only to add immensely to the royal territories, but also gained most of the treasures and sent only 200 elephants to Akbar.²³¹ Similarly, it was Mirza Aziz Koka, who assisted Akbar in Gujrat Campaign in 1572, and was later appointed as its governor.²³² It was Munim Khan and Hussain Quli *Khan-i-Jahan* who made earnest efforts to bring Bengal under Mughal control.²³³

In the Deccan too, these Iranis and Turanis assisted Mughals in extending their sway. For instance, it was Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, who remain mostly associated with the Akbar's Deccan campaigns. He inflicted a crushing defeat on Amber in 1601 in Telangana at a place called Nander. However, he decided to make friends with Ambar since he considered it desirable that there should be some stability in the remaining Nizam Shahi kingdom. In turn, Ambar also found it useful to cultivate friendship of *Khan-i-Khanan* since it enabled him to deal with his internal rival, Raju Dakhani. This led to the pact between them in 1601.²³⁴ Jahangir too, when ascended the throne, appointed Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* to deal with the Deccan problem. Shah Jahan had also deputed Iranis and Turanis to extend as well consolidate the Mughal dominions. For instance, an expedition of 10,000 cavalry, 2,000 matchlockmen, and 500 sappers under the command of Mahabat Khan was sent to

230 S. Chandra, *op.cit.*, p.94.

231 *Ibid*, p. 105. Akbar was incensed, but kept quiet on account of the Uzbek rebellion. Even then, hearing that he was to be asked to give accounts, Asaf Khan fled. He went first to Uzbeks, then returned to Gondwana where he was pursued. Finally, he submitted and Akbar restored him to his previous position. He was to do good service later.

232 *Ibid*, p.108.

233 *Ibid*, pp. 109,110.

234 S. Chandra, *op.cit.*, p. 197.

chastise the rebellious Jujhar Singh Bundela.²³⁵ To deal with the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi, in 1630, an army was sent under the command of notable leaders like Mir Muhammad Baqr Iradat Khan, Shayista Khan along with Raja Jai Singh.²³⁶ Similarly Said Khan was sent to deal with the Afghans of the Peshawar, in which he succeeded, as a result of which, he was rewarded with increase in ranks and other benefits.²³⁷ Baqir khan *Najm-i-Sani* was sent to capture the fort of Mansurgarh in the Province of Orissa in 1630 and the capture of this fort by him was reckoned as one of the most gallant exploits of that year.²³⁸ Azam Khan was appointed to pursue the Deccan campaign. Similarly under Aurangzeb, Mir Jumla was sent to Assam. Regarding it, Stanley Lanepool writes, “The rains and the guerilla tactics of the enemy drove the Mughal army to despair and its gallant leader died on his return in 1663.”²³⁹ Similarly Shaista Khan was sent to deal with the Arakans in Bengal. He accordingly sent expedition against Arakans and annexed it and changed the name of Chittagong to Islamabad, ‘the city of Islam’.²⁴⁰ Besides, many Iranis and Turanis were deputed on Deccan campaign by Aurangzeb.

REBELLIOUS ACTIVITIES PURSUED BY THEM-

These Iranis and Turanis not only helped in expansion and consolidation of Mughal Empire, but some among them became a cause of trouble for the Mughal Empire by their numerous acts of rebellion. It were predominantly Turani nobles who resorted to rebellious activities and pose serious problems for Babur during his lifetime. Regarding these Begs, Babur writes in *Babur nama* that though he had recovered Samarqand, but due to the rebellious activities of his nobles, he lost it in 1500 and further mentions, “Mischief and devastation must always be expected from the

235 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p.27.

236 *Ibid*, p. 37. Also see, Fergus Nicoll, p.174.

237 *Ibid*, pp.40,41,42.

238 *Ibid*, p.48.

239 Stanley Lanepool, *Rulers of India: Aurangzeb, Emperor of Hindustan, 1618-1707*, New Delhi, 2013, p.115.

240 *Ibid*.

Mughum horde. Up to now, they had rebelled five times from now”.²⁴¹ However in India, they won battle after battle for him and whenever they wavered, he awakened them to the realities of the situation. He would bring home to them the object with which they had come to India. As they had stood by him, he also respected their sentiments. After the battle of Panipat, the hot season, pestilential winds as well as the hostility of villagers led many begs to become discontent and wanted to leave India.²⁴² And the one zealous for departure at any price was Khwaja Kalan.²⁴³ Regarding him, Gulbadan writes in *Humayun nama*, “the Khwaja several times asked leave on the ground that his constitution was not fitted for the climate of Hindustan; that His Majesty was not at all, willing for him to go, but gave way at length to his importunity.” Hence Khwaja Kalan was given leave for Kabul and was also given Ghazni, Girdiz, Sultan Masudi hazara, pargana of Ghuram worth 3 or 4 lakhs.²⁴⁴

After the battle of Khanwa, some more Turani Begs were given leave as Babur himself writes that “it had been mentioned that there would be nothing to hinder leave after this victory, and that leave would be given to anyone wishing to go away (from Hindustan).”²⁴⁵ Therefore Mahdi Khwaja was given leave for Kabul as he had many discomforts.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Under a strong ruler like Babur, these Turanis did not create any problem, as Iqtidar Alam Khan writes that during the four years, that Babur

241 *Ibid*, p.105.

242 *Ibid*, p. 524. “ The greater part of the begs and best braves became unwilling to stay in Hindustan, indeed set their faces for leaving it.” Babur further mentions that these were not the old begs but the men of little standing (*kichik karim*)

243 *Ibid*.

244 *Ibid*, p.525. “ As Khwaja Kalan had no heart to stay in Hindustan, matters were settled in this way;- As he had many retainers, he was to convoy the gifts, and, as there were few men in Kabul and Ghazni, was to keep these places guarded and victualled. I bestowed on him Ghazni, Girdiz and the Sultan Mas’udi Hazara gave also the Hindustan *pargana* of Ghuram, worth 3 or 4 *laks*. It was settled for Khwaja Mir-i-miran also to go to Kabul; the gifts were put into his immediate charge, under the custody of Mulla Hasan the banker (*sarraf*) and Tuka *Hindu*.”

245 *Ibid*, p. 579. “ most of Humayun’s men were from Badakhshan or elsewhere on that side (of Hindukush); they had never been of an army led out for even a month or two; there had been weakness amongst them before the fight; on these accounts and also because Kabul was empty of troops, it was decided to give Humayun leave for Kabul.”

246 *Ibid*. As a result, “the military-collectorate of Biana (he held) was bestowed on Dost Lord-of-the-gate, and as previously Etawa had been named for Mahdi Khwaja, Mahdi Khwaja’s son Ja’far Khwaja was sent there in his father’s place.”

lived after the conquest of Hindustan, there did not take place a single revolt by any sections of the nobles who had come with him from Kabul.²⁴⁷

The situation under Humayun was quite different as he did not command the respect and esteem of the nobility to the extent his father did. When Humayun ascended the throne, three days after the Emperor's death, at that time, many Turanis like Muhammed Zeman Mirza²⁴⁸, and Muhammed Sultan Mirza,²⁴⁹ became the main competitors for the throne. Regarding it, Gulbadan writes, "Even the Chaghatai chiefs, who had enjoyed most of the Emperor's confidence and favour, were not perfectly unanimous. Though attached to the family of Baber, as the representatives of that revered prince and of the great Taimur, yet no eminent chief or head of a tribe considered the crown itself as beyond the range of his ambition."²⁵⁰ They both waged rebellion against Humayun in 1533-34, however the latter sent Yadgar Nasir Mirza, who defeated the rebels and made them prisoners.²⁵¹ Muhammad Zaman Mirza however fled along with his keeper Yadgar Taghai to the court of Bahadur Shah.²⁵²

Regarding the nobility of Humayun, Nurul Hasan writes in his article "New Light on the Relations of the Early Mughals with the Nobility" that the nobles of Humayun tried to become as independent as possible and Humayun was not in a position to

247 Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility Under Akbar and Development of his Religious Policy 1560-80', *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1968, p. 30.

248 Gulbadan, , p.12. It has been mentioned that he was the son of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza, and grandson *op.cit* of the famous Sultan Husein Mirza Baihara, of Khorasan. After his father's kingdom had passed in to the hands of the Uzbeks, he had resided at the court of Baber, with whom he is said to have been a particular favourite, and had married one of his daughters. He had been honoured with the most important commands. Many of the northern Chaghtai chiefs, who formed the Emperor's great strength, had much influence in his court, and filled the chief offices in the country, were attached to this prince.

249 *Ibid*, p.13. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, also a grandson of Sultan Husein Mirza, but by a daughter, as well as with Muhammed's son, Ulugh Mirza, with whom at this crisis he rose in rebellion a second time.

250 *Ibid*, p. 13.

251 *Ibid*.

252 *Ibid*.

exercise any effective control over them.²⁵³ Towards the close of the first period of Humayun's kingship when it appeared that his fortunes were on the wane, many of his nobles resorted to acts of disloyalty which sometimes even amounted to rebellion.²⁵⁴ Here are just a few examples; refusal of Zahid Beg to take up command in Bengal, the designs of Khusrau Kokaltash, Haji Md. Khan and Zahid Beg who joined Nuruddin Md. Mirza and offered the throne to Hindal;²⁵⁵ the refusal of nobles to rally round Humayun when the latter gave the call for battle at Chausa; persuasion of Kamran by Amir Khwaja Klan to return to Lahore on the eve of battle of Kanauj; the unpardonable cowardice shown by nobles during the battle of Kanauj.²⁵⁶

The weak personality of Humayun which was unable to inspire faith and confidence among his nobles and the egalitarian tendencies of the Turanis which led them to claim a sort of equality with Humayun led many Turanis to be opportunist. Due to their lack of co-operation and open hostility, Humayun started suffering defeats and the Afghan nobility, which was displaced by the Mughals, took advantage of the situation. They got united under Sher Shah and succeeded in defeating Humayun and with the latter's defeat, the entire Mughal nobility had to leave India and to seek refuge in Afghanistan.

Throughout the period of Bairam Khan Regency, the political power seems to have rested essentially with the dominant section of the nobility which mainly consisted of the Chaghatais and other groups of Turani origin. The factional tussle at the court, during April 1558-March 1560, only reflected the growing contradiction between the centralising requirements of an expanding state and the anxiety of a dominant section of the nobility to preserve their traditional privileges. Hence Akbar, on his accession, decided to undertake the task of transforming the Mughal nobility and inducted Rajputs and Indian Muslims. Nevertheless, these Turanis and Iranis continue to be seditious. According to the Iqtidar Alam Khan, the increasing alienation of the Turani nobility from the King, during 1562-75, was caused by some of Akbar's early

253 Nurul Hasan, "New Lights on the Relations of the Early Mughal Rulers With their Nobility" published in *Religion, State and Society in Medieval India*, ed. by Nurul Hasan, p.114.

254 *Ibid.*

255 *Humayun nama*, p. 160.

256 *Ibid*, p. 119.

measures which may be characterised as the precursors of the administrative reforms introduced around 1575. A considerable section of these Turanis remain recalcitrant during the reign of Akbar which created a sense of aversion for them in the heart of Mughal Emperors. Iqtidar alam Khan in his paper entitled “The Nobility Under Akbar And The development of his Religious Policy” writes that except for the temporary desertion by Asaf khan in 1565-66, none of the revolts which took place in this period were staged by the Persians, or for that matter by any other non-Turani section of the nobles.²⁵⁷

There were six major rebellions between 1562 and 1567;

- (a) Revolt by Mirza Sharfuddin, 1562-63.
- (b) Shah Abul Maali’s revolt, 1564.
- (c) Abdullah Khan’s revolt, 1564.
- (d) Ali Quli Khan’s revolt, 1565-67.
- (e) Asaf Khan’s desertion, 1565-66.
- (f) The revolt by Mirzas, 1566.²⁵⁸

About the mischievous propensities of Turanis, even Jahangir himself mentions in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that it is the temperament of *Badakhshis* to be seditious and turbulent.²⁵⁹ It were Iranis like Fathullah, son of Hakim Abu-I-Fath, Nuru-d-Din, son of Ghiyasu-d-Din Asaf Khan and Sharif, son of Itimad-ud-Daula (Nur-Jahan’s father) who assisted Khusrau in his revolt against Jahangir.²⁶⁰ During the reign of successive Mughal Emperors like Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, there was a decline in the position of Turanis. Moreover Athar Ali on the basis of *Mirat-al Istilah*, writes that Turanis, especially the *Badakhshis*, were generally regarded as uncultured and boorish in India. An officer of the Aurangzeb’s court who went so far to say in the imperial presence that the word of a Turani could not be trusted, only earned a mild reproof

257 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op.cit.*, 1968, p.30.

258 *Ibid*, p.30.

259 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.I, translated by A. Rogers and edited by H. Beveridge, New Delhi, rpt, 1989, p. 55.

260 *Ibid*, Vol.I, p. 123. Iranis like Mahabat Khan and Mirza Ali Akbarshahi were appointed to punish the rebels.

asking him to remember that his Emperor was also a Turani.²⁶¹ All these instances show that Turanis due to their shifting loyalties, and sense of claiming equality with the Mughal Emperors led to their gradual exclusion from the Mughal nobility.

THEIR ROLE IN AUGUMENTING THE RELATIONS WITH PERSIA AND CENTRAL ASIA -

Not only in India, but with other countries too, these Iranis and Turanis played an important role in cementing the relations with these countries, and the best example is of Bairam Khan. He was a Turkoman, originally a subject of Persia, and had accompanied the army of Najm Sani, sent by Shah Ismael to assist Babur in the conquest of Bokhara. he had survived the discomfiture of that army and had ever remained in the service of Babur and Humayun.²⁶²

When Humayun's fortunes were looking very forlorn and a large number of his followers had deserted him, at this time, Bairam Beg Baharlu (later Bairam khan) had, at great personal risk, joined him in Sind in April 1543.²⁶³ It was Bairam, who advised Humayun at this juncture to proceed to Persia.²⁶⁴ He was accordingly, despatched to Persian court, with an escort of ten horsemen.²⁶⁵ When Bairam was sent as Humayun's ambassoador to the Persian court, Bairam khan was favourably received and was referred to as *Amir-i-Muzzam* in a Persian *farman* and also accorded the title of *Khan*.²⁶⁶ In the recovery of Qandhar and Kabul, Bairam Khan played an important role and after the conquest of Qandhar, that fort was granted to him so as to placate the emperor of Persia.²⁶⁷

261 Athar Ali, *Op.Cit.*, p. 18.

262 Gulbadan *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.281.

263 Riaz Ul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations; A Study of the diplomatic Relations Between The Mughal Empire and Iran*, Lahore, 1970, p.25.

264 Riaz, *Op.cit.*, p.25. Bairam, whose forbears had been closely connected with Persia and who himself a Shia, advised Humayun at this juncture to proceed to that country.

265 *Humayun nama*, p.281.

266 Afzal Hussain, p.15.

267 *Ibid*, p.15.

Mostly Iranis and Turanis were usually chosen as envoys to the countries of Persia and Central Asia due to their age old connections with these countries, thus furthering the diplomatic ties with Persia and Central Asia. They were usually sent to enquire about the political conditions prevalent in these countries, sometimes in return for the embassy sent by the rulers of these countries. For instance, under Akbar, Mirza Diyauddin was sent as ambassador in 1594 along with Abu Naasr Khwafi as the keeper of gifts for the Shah Abbas in 1594.²⁶⁸ This was the first full-fledged embassy from the Mughal Emperor for more than four decades and Shah Abbas naturally made much of it. He warmly received the envoys at Qazwin. The city was illuminated and various festivities were held in their honour. Abul Fazl writes that the Shah received Akbar's envoys as a dutiful son.

Under Jahangir in 1613, Muhammad Hussain Chelebi, was despatched on a purchasing mission to Constantinople via Persia.²⁶⁹ Chelebi was an expert in jewellery and curiosities and originally belonged to Tabriz. As he was to pass through Persia, Jahangir gave him a letter and some gifts for Shah Abbas. The Shah pressingy obtained the list of royal requirements from Chalabi and said he would order their procurement as they were not available in the market.²⁷⁰ He commanded Uwwaisi Beg Topchi to procure these articles and later on sent him with these and a letter to India.²⁷¹ The Shah in his letter praised Muhammad Hussain Chelebi as an able agent and asked for his extension of his stay, or his replacement by someone equally suitable. Jahangir in his reply approved Chelebi's prolonged stay in Persia, but added that it would be more appropriate if he were allowed to come back for a while to India to reimburse himself and then proceed to Persia again. It appears that

268 Both were Iranis.

269 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.I, pp.237,238.

270 Ibid. "He saw my brother, Shah Abbas in Mashhad, and the king enquired from him what kind of things should be brought for his master's *Sarkar*. As he was urgent, chelebi showed the list he had brought with him. In that list there were entered good turquoise and *mumiya* (bitumen) from the mine of Ispahan. He told him that these articles were not to be bought, but would send them for me."

271 *Ibid*.

Muhammad Hussain Chelebi during his long sojourn in Persia, acted there as royal trade commissioner.²⁷²

Jahangir had selected Khan Alam, a Chaghtai Mughal to lead the first major embassy of his reign to Persia. His name was Mirza Barkhurdar and Jahangir had a special liking for him and used to address him as brother.²⁷³ In 1608-9, Jahangir had given him the title of Khan Alam.²⁷⁴ The embassy of Khan Alam was a grand affair. He was accompanied by at least a thousand servants. A large variety of the Indian fauna, especially the rare ones, were placed in the charge of several hundred keepers to accompany the Khan. The gifts he carried were proportionately large. The embassy was meant to strike the imagination of the Persians; it also aimed at impressing the Abbas with the wealth of India as well as the warmth of feeling Jahangir entertained for him. Khan Alam has a magnificent reception at the Persian court.²⁷⁵ The first formal reception was held at Qazvin and all the big nobles went out to receive him outside the city. The Shah showed him unusual honours and favours, much to the envy of European ambassadors. He embraced Khan Alam and addressed him as his brother. The Shah gave him the title of *Jan-i-alam*.²⁷⁶ During his long stay in Persia, Khan Alam kept in touch with Jahangir and sent regular reports to him. He left a very good impression on Shah Abbas, so much so that after his return to India, the Shah wrote an affectionate letter to him. Jahangir accorded him an elaborate reception on his return journey in 1620, raised his *mansab* to 5000 *zat* and 3000 *sawar*, and in 1621, appointed him governor of Allahabad.²⁷⁷

272 Riaz, *Op.cit.*, pp. 71,72,73. An interesting point is Shah Abbas's insistence that Jahangir's orders should be sent to him direct and executed through Persian state officials; the articles thus procured were then handed over to Muhammad Hussain Chalabi. It is significant that the Shah's request for official assistance to his purchasing agent in India is in identical terms with the mention of help offered to Jahangir's trade commissiuner in Iran.

273 *Tuzuk*, Vol.I, p.154.

274 Riaz, *Op.cit.*, p.74. He was on duty in one of the Mughal areas in the Deccan, and was recalled from there to lead the embassy to Persia.

275 Jahangir, Vol.II, *Op.cit.*, pp.115,116.

276 Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-al Lubab*, Eng.Tr. by A.J. Syed, p.234.

277 Riaz, *Op.cit.*, p.76. Bishan Das, a Mughal painter, who was sent with the embassy, brought a number of portraits. His portrait of Shah Abbas immensely pleased Jahangir. Another painting by Bishan das shows the Shah and Khan Alam together. Of the gifts brought by Khan Alam from Iran, the most valuable was a rare collection of the

For Turan, Jahangir sent Mir Baraka (originally of Bukhara) to Imam Quli Khan of Turan in 1621. He was on a highly confidential mission. Three months after its departure, Khwaja Nasir, an old and trusted servant too, was sent to Turan. The emperor therein commends the diplomatic skill of the Mir and of Khwaja Nasir in securing the sincere loyalty of the 'dutiful son', Imam Quli Khan. Mir Baraka was also given a sum of money to be conveyed to the highly influential Khwajas of Juibar of Bukhara.²⁷⁸ According to Riaz ul Islam, the sending of gifts to the influential Khwaja also appears to be a part of Jahangir's efforts to establish an entente with Turan.²⁷⁹

Even the Deccan rulers too, sent Iranis and Turanis as their ambassadors to Persia. For instance, Ibrahim Adil shah II sent Mir Khalilullah, a Persian émigré, on a mission to the Shah.²⁸⁰

Under Shahjahan, Hakim Hadhiq and Tarbiyat Khan were sent as envoys to the court of Uzbeks.²⁸¹ For Persia, he selected Safdar Khan, a Turani as the next Mughal envoy to Iran. He was to proceed on a major embassy, and rarities and valuables worth four lac of rupees were entrusted to him for the Shah.²⁸² The gifts included high quality textiles of Ahmedabad, Banaras and Malda (in Bengal). The khan was thoroughly instructed in diplomatic etiquette and given leave to depart in 1633, but he actually started two or three months later. His reception in Persia on the whole was very

portraits of Timur and his descendants, and of those nobles who had fought under his commands against Itetmish Khan. The collection contained 240 miniatures, each bearing the name of the person portrayed.

278 *Tuzuk*. The *Khwajas* of Juibar were a family of great piety, learning and influence. Jahangir notes their position of religious leadership in Turan. *Khwaja-i-Kalan* or the Great Khwaja of Juibar was the spiritual preceptor of Abdullah Khan Uzbek. 'Abdur Rahim Khwaja, who later came to India as ambassador was his son.

279 P.89.

280 Riaz,*Op.cit.*, p.94.

281 Inayat Khan, p.27. "His Majesty appointed Hakim Haziq as ambassador to Turan. His father Hakim Humam, brother of Hakim Abu'l-Fath Gilani, had visited the court of 'Abd Allah Khan Uzbek, the former ruler of Turan, as an ambassador during the reign of Emperor Akbar. At this time, gifts worth one lakh of rupees and a letter full of affection were sent to Imam Quli khan through the ambassador."

282 *Ibid*, p.94. he was sent in return as Shah shafi Safavi, ruler of Iran had sent Muhammad Ali Beg as his envoy to congratulate Shah Jahan on his accession. He was sent as he not only possessed Emperor's confidence but also had considerable experience in diplomatic affairs.

cordial and he was given precedence over other envoys at the various festivities and pleasure parties.²⁸³ When he was coming to India, Shah as a mark of special favour, paid a personal visit to Safdar's quarters to bid him farewell.²⁸⁴

After Safdar Khan, three Mughal envoys arrived at the Persian court. They were Mir Aziz, Jan Nithar Khan and Arsalan Beg.²⁸⁵ The purpose of their mission was to secure Persian neutrality in the current Indo-Turanian conflict.²⁸⁶

Sometimes, these Iranis and Turanis were responsible for the deterioration of relations with Persia and the best example of this is Tarbiyat Khan.²⁸⁷ Tarbiyat Khan Barlas was an Uzbek, was chosen to lead the embassy to Persia.²⁸⁸ He carried gifts worth several lacs of rupees (contrasting favourably with those brought by the Persian envoy valued at four lac), and a royal letter characterized by friendly sentiments. He entered Isfahan in April 1664 and after a few days was granted royal audience.²⁸⁹ He offered salutation (*taslim*) in the Mughal fashion and presented the royal letter and gifts. The Shah received him favourably and invited him to festivities. However, the Shah's graciousness quickly underwent a change as he ridiculed the ambassador and made deprecatory remarks about Aurangzeb, his manner of obtaining the throne and his title and about Indians in general. He even threatened to invade India.²⁹⁰ Shah Nawaz writes, "Owing to the lack of proper management the embassy was unsuccessful. Tarbiyat Khan lacked discretion and understanding, and behaved in a fighty manner. The Shah was given to drinking, and being puffed up with power and youth his brain box-which is the seat of wisdom- would get ruffled, and he was not

283 Safdar Khan, soon after his arrival in Persia, had to wait for about a year and a half for an audience, as Shah Shafi was campaigning on his north-west frontier. After recovering Erivan from the Turks in 1636, the Shah proceeded to the capital.

284 *Ibid*, p.100.

285 *Ibid*, p.337.

286 *Ibid*,p.. 109.

287 Khafi Khan, *Op.cit.*, p.234. "He so changed the hereditary love and affection of the parties into enmity that matters came to the marching of the armies on both sides."

288 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasir Ul umara*, Vol.II, pp.926-929. His name was Shafi-Ullah and he entered the royal service in the time of Emperor Shah Jahan, and because of his becoming well known was soon appointed to the high office of *Mir Tuzuk* (Master of Ceremonies).

289 *Ibid*.

290 Riaz ul Islam, *Op.cit.*, pp. 127, 128.

void of madness. He displayed conceit and arrogance which are not at all proper for great and eminent people. The interviews that took place are well known to the people, but are not fit to be written about.”²⁹¹ He further writes, “Contrary to the ambassadors of the times of Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan, such as Khan Alam Duldi, Safdar Khan Aqasi-who had conducted their great missions in a proper manner-he annihilated the objects of an embassy, viz., laying the foundation of friendship and strengthening the pillars of amity. Rather the result was just the opposite, as ancestral good relations and regard were changed into enmity, and it even went as far as the collecting of armies on both sides.’²⁹² Tarbiyat Khan, arrived at Agra in 1666, with the Shah’s insulting letter, was forbidden attendance at court on account of the failure of his embassy.²⁹³

Aurangzeb, sent Mustafa Khan, Taz Khan and Wafadar Khan (Later styled as Zabardast Khan) as envoys to Turan. The purpose of these missions was to form alliance with the rulers of Turan against *qizilbash*es.²⁹⁴

Thus from above, it becomes amply clear that Iranis and Turanis came to India from diverse regions of Iran and Turan such as Ispahan, Shiraz, Mashhad, Herat, Khurasan Balkh, Badakhshan, Samarqand etc. They accompanied early Mughal Emperor Babur in his march towards Northern India and during the exile period of Humayun, it were mostly Iranis and Turanis, who accompanied him. Under Akbar, they played an important role in the consolidation as well as expansion of Mughal Rule in India. Consequently, they were given patronage by the Mughal Emperors and they rose in the political hierarchy. They were assigned important political positions as well as highest *mansabs* and titles in Mughal India. They also proved instrumental in cementing the relations of Mughal India with Persia and Central Asia. Though, some among them created troubles for the Mughal emperors due to their rebellious tendencies, nevertheless Iranis and Turanis played a dominant role in influencing the political life of Mughal India.

291 Shah Nawaz, *Op.cit.*, p.928

292 *Ibid*, p.929.

293 *Ibid*.

294 Abdur Rahim, *Mughal relations with Persia and Central Asia (Babur to Aurangzeb)*, Aligarh, 1990, p.103.

SOCIAL MINGLING OF IRANIS AND TURANIS WITH INDIAN SOCIETY

Although these Iranis and Turanis came to India as foreigners, after settling here, they worked very sincerely to get Indian social support. The imperial historians have compared the migrants from Iran and Turan to the British civil servants who played a vital role in the Imperialist exploitation of India. However, unlike the British who had a power base outside India, and for whom India was always an alien country to be exploited, the bulk of Irani and Turani immigrants made India their home, assimilating themselves to Indian culture and enrich it with their own insights and skills. They establish social relations with the people of Indian background in order to legitimise their position in the Indian society. Though a lot of research has been done on the political life of Mughal nobility, but the aspect of their social mingling has hitherto remained untouched. To study the social mingling of Iranis and Turanis with Indian society, this chapter has been categorised as under-

1. Adjustment of Iranis and Turanis with Indian culture
2. Their participation in Indian education and agriculture production
3. Iranis and Turanis relations with local elements
4. Cultural relations of Iranis and Turanis with Indian people
5. Matrimonial alliances of Iranis and Turanis and with the people of Indian background.

ADJUSTMENT WITH INDIAN CULTURE -

As Iranis and Turanis came from the land of Central Asia and Persia, they had imbibed a culture which had its roots in Central Asia and Persia, however with their gradual settlement in India, they started getting influenced with Indian conditions and this Indian influence began to penetrate deep into their social life.

Every aspect of their social life ranging from clothes, food, jewellery, court ceremonies to their dealing with trade got influenced by the Indian culture. For instance, the dress of early Iranis and Turanis who came with Babur and Humayun to India usually consisted of heavy woollen clothes, however with the passage of time,

they discarded these woollen clothes for lighter material during Indian summers.¹ It was only in the days of Akbar that the Mughal dress underwent a drastic alteration regarding which M.A. Ansari writes, “Partly it was the effect of change in outlook, for the Mughals began to regard India as their homeland, and partly, it was the outcome of Akbar’s genius, to evolve a common culture by the assimilation of everything Mughal and Islamic with the Indian and the Hindu.”² Thus the dress of Iranis and Turanis too underwent a change gradually.

Abul Fazl has given a detailed list of the various dresses worn by his Majesty like the *Taakauchiya*,³ the *Peshwaz*,⁴ The *Dutahi*,⁵ The *Shah-ajida*,⁶ the *Suzani*,⁷ the *Qalami*,⁸ the *Qaba*,⁹ the *Gadar*,¹⁰ the *Farji*,¹¹ the *Fargul*,¹² the *Chakman*,¹³ the *Shalwar*.¹⁴ Out

1 M. A Ansari, *Social Life of the Mughal Emperors*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 2.

2 *Ibid*, p. 2.

3 Abul Fazl Allami, *The Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. By H. Blochmann, Vol.I, New Delhi, pp.87,88. “The *Takauchiya* is a coat without lining of the Indian form. Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side; his Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side. It requires seven yards and seven *girihs*, and five *girihs* for the binding. The price for making a plain one varies from one rupee to three rupees; but if the coat be adorned with ornamental stitching, from one to four and three quarter rupees.

4 *Ibid*. “The *Peshwaz* is of the same form, but ties in front. It is sometimes made without strings.”

5 *Ibid*. “The *Dutahi* requires six yards and four *girihs* for the outside, six yards lining, four *girihs* for the binding, nine *girihs* for the border. The price of making one varies from one to three rupees. One *misqal* of silk is required.

6 *Ibid*. “The *Shah-ajida* (or the royal stitch coat) is also called *Shast-khatt*, as it has sixty ornamental stitches per *girihi*. It has generally a double lining, and is sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of making is two rupees per yard.”

7 *Ibid*. “The *Suzani* requires a quarter of a *ser* of cotton and two *dams* of silk. If sewed with *bakhya* stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees; one with *ajida* stitches costs four rupees.”

8 *Ibid*. “The *Qalami* requires 3/8 s. cotton, and one *dam* silk. Cost of making, two rupees.”

9 *Ibid*. “The *Qaba*, which is at present generally called *jama-yi pumba-dar*, is a wadded coat. It requires 1 s. of cotton and 2 m. silk. Price, one rupee to a quarter rupee.”

10 *Ibid*. “The *Gadar* is a coat wider and longer than the *qaba*, and contains more wadding. In Hindustan, it takes the place of a fur coat.”

11 *Ibid*. “The *Farji* has no binding, and is open in front. Some put buttons to it. It is worn over the *jaama*.”

12 *Ibid*. “The *farghul* resembles the *yapanji*, but is more comfortable and becoming. It was brought from Europe, but everyone nowadays wear it.”

of these, the *Jamah*, the *Pishawaj*, the *Farji*, the *Ulbaqchah* and the *Shilwar* were the dresses which Akbar inherited from Babur and Humayun.¹⁵ Akbar, with his usual remarkable gift of invention, brought into fashion many other garments, and adopted them to his own requirements, thus changing the style of dress completely. Under him, *Takawchiyah* became very fashionable, in summer as well as in winter, because it could be stitched out of silk, gold cloth or woollen stuff.¹⁶ Regarding *Takauchiah*, Annie Marrie Schimmel writes, “The style was probably derived from the *taukauchiah* of the Rajputs, which impressed Akbar as a typically Indian form of clothing, and was evidently then imported from the Deccan.”¹⁷ Similarly *Farghul* was brought from Europe but was worn by everyone.¹⁸ Abul Fazl relates that Akbar received a thousand suits of clothing each year, of which a great number would certainly have been presented to the nobles at court, to ambassadors and even to artists as robes of honour.¹⁹ He further mentions that, ‘as a most curious sign of auspiciousness, that His Majesty’s clothes becomingly fit every one, whether he be tall or short, a fact which has hitherto puzzled many.’²⁰ Contemporary sources show that not only Akbar, but Jahangir, Shah Jahan and even Nur Jahan²¹ too bestowed robes of honour on their grantees. This shows that like other grantees of the Mughal empire, Irani and Turani nobles too were bestowed these dresses as robe of honour²² and by wearing these dresses, Irani and Turani nobles shows their cultural affiliation with the Indian culture. Moreover, these dresses were made at imperial workshops

13 *Ibid.* “The *chakman*, is made of broad cloth, or wollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of *Darai* was cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot go through it.”

14 *Ibid.* “It is made of all kinds of stuffs, single and double and wadded.”

15 M.A Ansari, *op.cit*, p.6.

16 *Ibid.*

17 Annemrie Schimmel, *The Empire of The Great Mughals; History, Art and Culture*, New Delhi, 2005, p. 170.

18 *Ain, Vol.I*, p. 95.

19 A robe of honour had to be worn by the ruler himself, if only for a moment, in order to imbue it with his power before it was given to the recipient. Such transfer of power created a ritual connection between the bestower and the recipient.

20 *Ibid*, p. 96.

21 Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol.II*, Eng. Tr. by A. Rogers & ed. by H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1989, p.221. Nur Jahan gave dresses of honour to forty-five of the great *Amirs* and private secretaries.

22 *Ibid, Vol.I*, p. 222. *Khan-i-khanan* was given a grand dress of honour by Jahangir.

located at various parts of the Mughal Empire, like the towns of Agra, Lahore, Fathpur, Ahmedabad, Gujrat which shows that by wearing these dresses, Irani and Turani nobles were acting as an agent of cultural assimilation.²³

Besides these, Akbar took a great interest in the production of *shawls*, which were usually worn in the winter. He called the finest shawls *parmnarm*, 'very soft' and introduced a new way of wearing these shawls-thrown over the shoulders, either folded double, or loose.²⁴ There are many references in the Mughal accounts to a *parmnarm* being among the presents given by the Mughal rulers to their loyal servants. Iranis and Turanis nobles in India too were bestowed these shawls and were draped by them²⁵ as there is a picture of Hakim ul Mulk, a physician at the court of Shah Jahan, wearing the typical clothing of a Mughal noble with Kashmiri Shawl over his shoulders.²⁶

Some among them designed new dresses and invented perfumery which were of so high quality that they were adopted in daily life by the Mughal Emperor as well as other sections of nobility and left a deep impression of the grandeur of Mughal Empire on the common masses. Shaikh Farid Bhakkari in *Zakhiratul Khawanin* writes that Iranis were known for their unique dresses which were even followed by other

23 *Ibid*, pp. 93-94. The imperial workshops in the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fathpur, Ahmedabad, Gujrat, turn out many masterpieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of fashions which now prevail, astonish experiences travellers.

24 A. Schimmel, *Op.cit.*, p. 171. The finest quality shawls, then as now, were the *Shahtus*, made from soft wool from the underbellies of mountain goats, which was collected from bunches of thorns which the animals had run over. Initially patterns were woven into the edges, then later they came to be embroidered with the finest thread as well. The *buta* motif, a pattern of buds which is still seen today on shawls and carpets, was also common at the time of Mughals. The finest wool was dyed white, black, or red. Wool and silk were often woven together.

25 *Ibid*, p. 98.

26 A. Schimmel, p.171. There is a picture of certain Hakim ul-mulk, whose name reveals him to be a doctor, wearing the typical clothing of the nobility at the time of Shah jahan. He is wearing an almost knee-length golden yellow *jama*, and over it an equally long violet coat with a small golden pattern, with an orange lining. The wearer has draped the coat over himself, with the very long sleeves hanging down, and the red and pale yellow striped *payjama* visible beneath it. His shoes are coloured brick and green, and he has a gold-embroidered *patka* hanging from a white belt. To complete the ensemble, Hakim has draped a magnificent broad red Kashmir shawl over his shoulders and part of his chest.

sections of nobility.²⁷ Irani nobles like Mirza Abu Said, Hashim Khan, Asaf Khan, Itimad ud Daula, Itiqad Khan were known for their elegant food dresses and household effects. For instance Hashim Khan was known to took great pains in the matter of clothes, carpets, canopies, food and perfumes.²⁸ Few men from Iran would be having such fine taste for food and elegant dress as Mirza Abu Said.²⁹ Iranians were the leaders in designing new dresses for themselves as well for the nobility. The best manifestation of this can be found in the dresses designed by Nur Jahan. She designed *Dodami* (flowered muslin) for dress, *Panchtoliya* for veils, *Badla* and *Kinara* (silver thread lace). Shaikh Farid Bhakkri in *Zakhiratul Khawanin* writes that *dodamni* (cloth weighing two dams) for *pishwaz* (full dress gown) and *pachtoliya* (stuff weighing five tolas) for head cover (*orhani*) for women each of which cost forty rupees came into existence in her time.³⁰ Besides she also designed inexpensive dresses for marriage ceremonies and named it *Nur Mahali*.³¹ Mughal governor in Kashmir, Itiqad Khan introduces new pattern of shawls, *pattu*, *tabrizi* and *karbalai* in woollen in Kashmir.³²

Regarding perfumery, they were not only fond of but some among them even invented it. Asmat Begum, extracted rose scent from rose petals and presented it to Jahangir who admired it immensely and gave her a pearl string in reward.³³ Jahangir in his *Tuzuk-I-Jahangiri* was showing regret that the nostrils of his father were not gratified with the essence of *Jahangiri-Itr*. He was so impressed that he wrote that there was no other scent of equal importance to it and the strength of the perfume was such that if one drop be rubbed on the palm of the hand, it scent the whole assembly and it appears as if many red rose buds had bloomed at once.³⁴ Through these innovations, Iranis not only tried to demonstrate their refined taste but also set a new trend of fashion in the Mughal court.

27 Sheikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, Eng. Tr. Z.A. Desai, "Nobility Under The Great Mughals", New Delhi, 2003, p.76.

28 *Ibid*, p.103.

29 *Ibid*, p.110.

30 *Ibid*, p.15.

31 Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-lubab*, Tr. By A.J. Syed, Calcutta, 1929, p.269.

32 Sheikh Farid Bhakkari, *Op.cit.*, p.69.

33 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, Vol-I, p.271.

34 *Ibid*.

Iranis and Turanis also took active participation in the celebrations, festivals and rejoicings and used to celebrate number of festivals, both Indian and Iranian officially. Some of them were current in India and practiced by the Sultans of Delhi, other were introduced anew. Like other sections of the nobility, Irani and Turani too took part in these festivals and present gifts and presents to the Mughal emperors. For instance, *Noroz (Nauroz-i-Jalali)*, a purely Persian festival, which started in India from the age of *Salatin-e-Delhi*, but was reached at its zenith during the Mughal regime.³⁵ It was celebrated with great eagerness on the coronation day as a mark of connection with the social life of Persia as Akbar felt that the feelings of Persian residents in the Court had been wounded after the recital of the *Khutbah* and the issue of the *Mahdar* during 1580-81 A.D.³⁶ Regarding this festival, Jahangir writes in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, “In my father’s time it had become established that one of the great nobles should prepare an entertainment on each of the 17 or 18 days of the festival, and should present His Majesty the king with choice gifts of all kinds of jewels and jewelled things, precious stuffs, elephants and horses and should invite him to take the trouble to come to his assembly. By way of exalting his servants, he would be present and having looked at the presents would take what he approved of and bestow the remainder on the giver of the entertainment.”³⁷

Jahangir too followed the same trend. He himself mentioned in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, the name of many Iranis and Turanis along with other sections of nobility who brought gifts and were promoted on this occasion.³⁸ For instance, on the Tenth New Year’s festival (1615), Asaf Khan made an offering of Jewels and jewelled ornaments and things of gold, of cloth stuffs of all kinds, all of which worth 85000 rupees.³⁹ Various Irani and Turani nobles like Khan Azam,⁴⁰ Mahabat Khan⁴¹ too

35 Muhammad Ziauddin, *Role of Persians at the Mughal court; A Historical Study During 1526 A.D. to 1707 A.D.*, Pakistan Research Repository, p. 254.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p. 49.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 280. Jahangir writes, “The illustrious princes, the Great Khans, the chief officers and Ministers of State made their salutations of congratulation.”

39 *Ibid.*, p. 280.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 165. “On fifth New Year feast, he gave a pearl worth 4,000 rupees.”

41 *Ibid.* He presented two European boxes, the sides of which were made with slabs of glasses, so that whatever was placed inside could be seen from outside in a way that you might say there was nothing between them.

made presents to Jahangir on various occasions. Irani and Turani nobles were given titles and were promoted too on this occasion, for instance Shah Beg Khan, the governor of Qandhar was promoted to the rank of 5,000⁴², on the thirteenth New Year feast, Asaf Khan who held the rank of 5,000 with 3,000 horse, was favoured by the grant of 4,000 two-horsed and three-horsed troopers and Sabit Khan was raised to the office of Examiner of Petitions.⁴³ It was in one such *Nauroz* that Jahangir met with Nur Jahan and married her later.⁴⁴ Under Shah Jahan too, *Nauroz* had become an integral part of the court and social calendar, effectively sanctified by habit, in which various dignitaries were honoured.⁴⁵

Mughal emperors used to celebrate various festivals of India like Diwali, Holi, Dashera, Rakhi, Shivratri etc. at his court.⁴⁶ In these festivals, along with other sections of the nobility, Irani and Turani nobles too participated.

Iranis and Turanis in India not only introduced new recepies, but also a unique way of organising feasts which was even praised by Mughal Emperors. For instance Nur Jahan contributed liberally in the culinary art and prepared some rare recipes for the royal use.⁴⁷ Baqir Khan *Najm-i-thani*, was a great epicurean and prepared several new recipes. *Baqar khani*, a kind of bread mixed with butter and milk takes its name from him.⁴⁸ Their households were the setting for lavish banquets and other gatherings where male guests were offered a wide variety of music, dance, poetry or other entertainments. For some nobles, such occasions were the venue for poetry

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid*, vol. II, p. 1.

44 Fergus Nicoll, *ShahJahan*, 2009, New Delhi, p.68. The Emperor's third wife, Mihr al-Nisa, whom he had met at the New Year festival in March 1611 and was to marry that summer.

45 Fergus Nicoll, *Op.cit.*, p.165. The first *Nauroz* of Shah Jahan's reign- just five weeks days after the coronation was not an occasion for stinting. The Emperor, knowing that he had the vast wealth of an empire to play with, was even more flamboyantly generous to his nearest and dearest than he had been at his crowning. Contemporary accounts indicate an expenditure of nearly eighteen million rupees between the coronation and the end of *Nauroz*, the bulk of it lavished on Mumtaz mahal and her children.

46 Satish Chandra, *Medieval India; From Sultanate to The Mughals (1526-1748)*, Vol.II, New Delhi, 2007, p.249. We are told that during the celebration of *Diwali*, Jahangir himself took part in a bout of gambling that continued for three nights.

47 Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Eng. Tr. by A.J. Syed, Bombay, 1977, p.269.

48 Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Op.cit.*, p. 87. "Forty camels used to carry (the load) of his kitchen during the journeys. He had a daily ration of one thousand trays (*langari*) of delicate and delicious food."

recitations, for sometime wine and opium were the main attraction.⁴⁹ The lavishness of the feast organised by Asaf Khan⁵⁰, NurJahan⁵¹ and Itimad-ud-daula⁵², for Jahangir and by Saif Khan in the honour of Khan Jahan Lodi deserved special mention in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Through these feasts, Iranis and Turanis tried to create as well as develop a new culture of assembling and eating food together in India in which people of different ethnicity and background assembled and shared their food and entertain themselves. Thus they tried to break the alienation among different groups through the strength of their unity.

These Iranis and Turanis associated themselves with the markets and merchants of India and involve themselves in trade and commerce of India which also led to their absorption in the Mughal culture. For instance Danishmand Khan, who is mentioned by Bernier as one of the learned man of Asia and one of the most distinguished *Omrahs* or Lords of the Court was a Persian merchant who came to Surat in 1646.⁵³ Similarly Mir Jumla, who had acquired huge wealth not only by the opportunities afforded to him as chief minister of an opulent kingdom, but likewise by the means of his extensive commerce with various parts of the world as well as by the diamond

49 John F Richards, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 2002, p.60

50 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, Vol II, p.81.

51 *Ibid*, Vol I, P.385. "In the end of Thursday, the 26th, corresponding with the 14th Sha'ban, which is the Shab-i-barat, I held a meeting in one of the houses of the palaces of Nur Jahan Begum, which was situated in the midst of large tanks, and summoning the *Amirs* and courtiers to the feast which had been prepared by the Begum, I ordered them to give the people cups and all kinds of intoxicating drinks according to the desire of each. Many asked for cups, and I ordered that whoever drank a cup should sit according to his *mansab* and condition. All sorts of roast meats, and fruits by way of relish, were ordered to be placed before everyone. It was a wonderful assembly. In the beginning of the evening, they lighted lanterns and lamps all round the tanks and buildings, and a lighting up was carried out the like of which has perhaps never been arranged in any place. The lanterns and lamps cast their reflection on the water, and it appeared as if the whole surface of the tank was a plain of fire. A grand entertainment took place, and the drinkers of cups took more cups than they could carry."

52 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p.80, Itimad ud daulah after entertaining the king, presented him with a throne of gold and silver worth Rs.4,50,000, jewels, ornaments and cloth worth Rs.100,000. Jahangir writes, "Without exaggeration from the beginning of the reign of late king until now, not one of the *amirs* has presented such offering."

53 Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, Eng. Tr. A. Constable, rev. V.A Smith, New Delhi, 1968, p.4.

mines which he farmed under feigned names.⁵⁴ These mines were worked with indefatigable industry, and it was usual to count his diamonds by the sacks-full.⁵⁵

An important feature of the seventeenth century was the growing commercial-mindedness of the Mughal nobility. Like all ruling classes which drew their income mainly from Land, the early Turkish nobility in India looked down upon commerce. From a remark of Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, it appears that this had undergone a rapid change by the end of the sixteenth century. Abul Fazl considered it permissible for a noble 'to indulge a little in commercial speculation and engage in remunerative undertakings, reserving a portion in goods and wares, and somewhat invested in the speculation of others.' Abul Fazl disregards the Islamic ban on the taking of interest, saying that 'a share may be entrusted to borrowers of credit'. 'Let such a one be frank in his commercial dealings,' he says, 'and give no place in his heart to self-approach.'⁵⁶

Thus a study of the sources of seventeenth century shows that it was fairly common for both nobles and members of the royal family including kings, princes, princesses and ladies of the harem to engage in commercial ventures. Ships were owned by prominent nobles such as Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, Asaf Khan, Safi Khan, and Mir Jumla also. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan's three ships, *Rahimi*, *Karimi*, and *Salari*, with well paid staff were available for both the Hajj pilgrims and for commerce.⁵⁷ As the governor of Lahore, *Wazir Khan* got a commission on everything

54 *Ibid*, pp. 16,17. Mir Muhammad Said Ardastani, surnamed Mir Jumla and afterwards entitled *Mu'azzam Khan*, *Khan Khanan Sipah Salar* was born in Ardistan near Ispahan, and came to India as a special attendant of a Persian merchant. It was in 1656 that he threw himself on the protection of Shah Jahan.

55 *Ibid*, p. 17. See footnote 2. Thevenot says that he possessed 20 mans, or 408 Dutch *livres*, weight of diamonds. The *man* of Thevenot may be taken as 40 seers or 35.5 English pounds.

56 *Ain*, Vol.II, Eng.tr. H. S. Jarret, Delhi, 2006, pp.57-8.

57 H.K. Naqvi, *Urbanisation and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals*, Simla, 1972. Once on its way home, *Rahimi* was ship wrecked and the traders lost their all. When they reached home and *Khan-i-Khanan* heard the tragic tale, he at once out of his magnanimity ordered the Surat Treasurer, to compensate them for the loss by reimbursing one lakh of *Mahamudis*.

that was bought and sold at Lahore.⁵⁸ In Bengal, Mir Jumla and following him Shaista Khan attempted to monopolize trade in all important commodities. Mir Jumla owned a fleet of ships, and carried on extensive commerce with Burma, Maldives, Persia, Arabia, etc. Thus by engaging in trade and mercantile activities, they were acting as agent for transmission of Mughal culture throughout India and outside.

THEIR PARTICIPATION IN INDIAN EDUCATION AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION-

Iranis and Turanis also contributed to Indian education and agricultural production. It is well known that Mughals especially Akbar took keen interest in the scientific educational disciplines such as geometry, astronomy, accountancy, public administration, arithmetic, medicine, history and even agriculture. It were Iranis like Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani and Fatehullah Shirazi⁵⁹ along with Abul Fazl and some other intellectuals who became the pioneer of new educational policy during Akbar's regime. Irfan Habib writes in his book *Akbar and his India* that Fathullah Shirazi along with Abul Fazl help Akbar to introduce more scientific syllabi in the schools and more effective techniques in technology and to initiate discussions on scientific theories.⁶⁰ Regarding Fath-ul-lah Shirazi, Niammuddin Ahmad writes in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, 'He was a very wise man and in ratiocinative and traditional knowledge was distinguished above all learned men of Khurasan and Iraq and Hindustan; and in his own time he had no one in the world similar and equal to him. He had gifts also in

58 Satish Chandra, *Essays on Medieval Indian History*, New Delhi, 2003, p.232. Even princes of royal blood could not escape the lure of making easy profits in this manner. As the viceroy of Bengal and Bihar, Prince Azim-ush-Shan declared the entire import trade to be his monopoly, styling this the *Sauda-i-Khas-o-am*. Aurangzeb wrote him a stinging reproof, and reduced his rank by 500 *sawar*.

59 Nawwab Samsam-Ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-Ul-Umara*, Vol. I, tr. by H. Beveridge, revised, annotated and completed by Baini Preshad, Patna, 1979, p. 543. Adil Shah of Bijapur by a thousand efforts brought him from Shiraz to the Deccan and made him his Prime minister (*vakil-i-matlaq*). After Adil Shah's days were ended, Fathullah came in the 28th year, 1583, by the summons of Akbar to Fathpur. The *Khan-i-Khanan* and Hakim Abul-Fath received him and introduced him. He was treated with royal favours and in a short time was made an intimate companion.

60 Irfan Habib, *Akbar and his India*, Delhi, 1997, p. 128.

curious sciences, such as incantations and talisman; so that he constructed contrivances on carts, so that they moved on themselves; and arrived.”⁶¹

Besides him, many Irani and Turani were reputed scholars and since the days of Babur, they were producing commendable works of literature thus influencing the Indian education by their writings. For instance, Shaikh Zain Khwafi,⁶² Khwand Amir⁶³ and Mir Abdul Haiy⁶⁴ were reputed scholars under Babur. Under Humayun, one of the most reputed scholar was Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini⁶⁵ who came to Hindustan at the invitation of Humayun and arrived with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne.⁶⁶ He was appointed tutor of Akbar at Kabul and joined the imperial services under Akbar.⁶⁷ Regarding him, H. Blochmann writes, “He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of *Sulh-i-kull*, “peace with all”, the Persian term which Abul Fazl so often uses to describe Akbar’s policy of toleration.”⁶⁸ His brother Mir Ala-ud-Daula wrote *Nafais-ul-Maasir*, which is regarded as a standard work of literary activities during Humayun’s reign.⁶⁹ Another reputed scholar of his age was Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khan *mir munshi* who was a Hussaini Saiyid from

61 Khwaja Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Tr. by Brajendranath De and Baini Prashad, 1994, pp. 684-685. He also made mirror, in which wonderful shapes became visible from near and far; and he could fire off 12 guns by means of one wheel. He passed it to the world of permanence in the year 997 A.H in Kashmir.

62 The *Fath-nama* by him in Persian after the battle of Khanwa (1527) is reproduced in *Babur-nama*. Also see my previous chapter, Nature of population, p. 6.

63 His main contribution in India was the great historical work *Habib-al-Siyar* and he was also the author of *Akhlaq*, *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, *Khulasat-ul-Akhbar* and *Muntakhab-i-Tarikh-i-Wasaf*. He continued the Perso-Islamic style of writing history and got the title of “*Amir-i-Akhbar*” from Humayun.

64 Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, Vol,III, translated and edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, Patna, 1973, pp.378,379,380.Mir Abdul Hayi was an expert of writing *Baburi* script style and it is said that nobody had learnt to write in the complicated *Baburi* style more quickly or better than him.

65 He belonged to Saifi Sayyids of Qazwin.

66 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p. 496. His family belongs to the Sayfi Sayyids of Qazwin, who were known in Iran for their Sunni tendencies. His grandfather Mir Yahya was a well known philosopher and theologian, who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history, that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammadan religion to his own time.”

67 *Ibid*, p. 497. He was received with great kindness and consideration and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor. At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Hafiz.

68 *Ibid*, p. 497. See footnote no.2.

69 *Ibid*, p. 496.

Mashhad.⁷⁰ Apart from his natural poetical ability, he was well versed in the seven different styles of penmanship and was well qualified to instruct the best calligraphers of the world. He was perhaps the first of his age to write *taliq* and *nastaliq* characters and was well versed in *Ilm-e-Jafar* (witchcraft).⁷¹ Humayun's *dabir* (munshi) named Yousuf Bin Muhammad Haravi was also a reputed scholar as he wrote some books i.e. *Riaz-ul-Insha*, *Jama-i-Al-Fawa'id-i-Yousafi* (a book on medicine), *Bada-ul-Ansha*. Under Akbar, Mulla Qazi Nurullah of Shustar, was well known for his learning, regarding whom Badauni writes, "He wrote several good works and also a monograph on the un-dotted commentary of Shaikh Faizi which was beyond all praise. He also possessed poetic facility and wrote impressive poetry."⁷² Similarly there were many scholars like Mulla Ghani of Herat, Talia and Ulfati of Yazd, Mir Waiz Wuqui of Herat, Mir Abul-Qasim Findarski,⁷³ Fuzuni Astrabadi,⁷⁴ Fani Gilani,⁷⁵ Qudsi Gilani, Nazim Tabrizi,⁷⁶ Baqi Nihawandi,⁷⁷ Fars-i-Hamadani,⁷⁸ Reza Hamadani,⁷⁹ Taqi

70 *Ibid*, p. 423.

71 *Ibid*.

72 Al-Badauni, *Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh*, Vol.III, Tr. by Sir Wolseley Haig, revised and enlarged by B.P. Ambasshthya, Patna, p.193,194. He was introduced to the emperor by the instrumentality of the physician Abul Fath.

73 He came to India in 1606 and then he joined Mirza Jafar Asaf Khan. After some time, he went back to Iran and again came back to India. He visited India twice after the accession of Shah Jahan. Once he came to India during the 1st regnal year, and for the second time in the 10th regnal year. As he was well acquainted with Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan-i-Khanan, he obtained the felicity of paying his respects to the emperor through his good offices. On both the occasions he was awarded a gift of 5,000 rupees from the benevolent royal exchequer.

74 Abolghasem Dadvar, *Iranians in Mughal politics and society 1606-1658*, New Delhi, 1999, He had wandered several cities of the Mughal empire. He dedicated his *Saqi-nama* to Shah Abbas the Great of Iran. He also entered the service of Muhammad Adil Shahi, the sixth ruler of the line. At his master's request, he wrote a history of the dynasty naming it *Futuh-i-Adi Shahi*.

75 *Ibid*. He enjoyed the patronage of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan.

76 He came as a free wanderer from Tabriz and stayed for some time in the court of Bijapur. Ibrahim Adil Shah II and his *Wazir*, Shah Nawaz Khan Shirazi, welcomed him to the new city Naurasapur. And he sung his *qasida* in praise of the king and the minister in the glittering audience hall of the palace, *Nauras-i-bihisht*. In India, Nazim found the leisure to complete major portion of his work, a *tazkira* of poets on which he labored for many years. Its title was *Nazm-i-Guzida*.

77 He came to India in 1614 by the way of port Dabhol and went to Burhanpur in Khandesh and joined the service of Khan-i-Khanan. The latter conferred upon him a *jagir* and fixed his salary and allowance and requested him to write *Maasir-i-Rahimi*.

78 *Ibid*, p. 253.

Shushtari,⁸⁰ Nikhati Shushtari, Khalqi Shushtari, Fusuni Qomi, Asri Damghani, Nabi Qazwini, Taqi Auhadi, Sururi Kashani, Jalalud-ud-din Tabatabai, Mali Shirazi, Kamil Jahromi, Muqim darabi, Baqi Nihawandi who made immense contributions to the Indian education through their literary activities.

Not only in education, Iranis and Turanis dabbled them themselves in agriculture too. As it is a well known fact that Mughals assigned various *jagirs* to their nobles, hence Iranis and Turanis too get *jagirs* in which they took umpteen measures to improve cultivation. When Khwaja Shah Mansur of Shiraz was appointed by Akbar as *wazir*, he worked up all arrears and applied himself to reform the means of collecting the land revenue.⁸¹ As the old method of collecting of collecting the revenue was inconvenient⁸² as the empire had become greater and for at different places the assessment differed, and the people and soldiers suffered losses, therefore in the 24th year, he prepared a new rent roll, based upon the preceding Dahsala roll, and upon the prices current in the 24th year.⁸³ In the 25th year he lowered the value of the *jagirs* of the grandees in Bengal by one fourth of their former value, and those in Bihar by one fifth. Regarding this Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari* that as Bengal and South Bihar were then not completely subjugated, and the Afghans still mustered large forces in Eastern and southern Bengal, in Orissa and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Mansur's rigour was impolitic; for Akbar's officers looked upon the old *jagir* emoluments as very moderate rewards for their readiness to fight the Afghans.⁸⁴ The strictness which the Khwaja displayed towards *jagir* holders led to serious results as

79 He joined the services of *Khan-i-Khanan*.

80 *Ibid*, p. 253. After migrating to India, he obtained the service of *Khan-i-Khanan* who rewarded and patronized him. He had adopted the pen name of *Ghayuri*. He was a disciple of divine faith and was employed by Akbar to write prose version of *Shah Nama*.

81 *Ain, Op.cit.*, p. 475.

82 *Ibid*. the custom then was to depend on experienced assessors for the annual rate of tax, but this method was now inconvenient.

83 *Ibid*.

84 *Ibid*. Akbar some time before, in consideration of the troubled state of both the provinces and the notorious climate of Bengal, had doubled the allowances of Bengal officers and increased by 50 percent the emoluments of those in Bihar.

jagir holders in Jaunpur, Bihar and Bengal rebelled⁸⁵ due to which Akbar deposed Mansur and appointed temporarily Shah Quli Mahram but having satisfied himself of the justice of Mansur's demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers.

Similarly Mirza Anwar, who was posted as governor of Bhakkar worked for the improvement of cultivation there. Regarding him, Shaikh Farid Bhakkhari writes in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin*, "There was scarcity of rain and lack of flow of the river Punjab (i.e. Indua). The Mirza, under the guidance of the *Zamindars* of that place, put on the dress of cultivators and started driving the plough with his own hand and his wife, the daughter of Zain Khan Koka, like rustic women carrying the jowar-bread and yoghurt on head, took the meals to her husband. At that very moment, by the generosity of the glorified lord, it rained heavily and the river Punjab was in spate. He left a good name in Sind."⁸⁶

Similarly Mirza Yusuf Khan and Asaf Khan had taken measures for the improvement of cultivation in Kashmir. For instance, in 32nd year, when Mirza Yusuf was sent to Kashmir as ruler, he was much liked by the people of that country. During his reign, that Akbar visited Kashmir, and issued several orders regarding the taxation of that country. In the districts of Mararaj and Kamraj, i.e., the upper and lower districts on both sides of the Bahat river, he fixes the taxes at one-fourth.⁸⁷ Mirza Yusuf had made the assessment of revenue of Kashmir to be 22 lacs *kharwars*, which was 2 lacs more than before.⁸⁸ Later on, when Akbar increased the revenue assessment of Kashmir,

85 *Ibid.* Abul Fazl writes that the dissatisfaction was also increased by the innovations of the emperor in religious matters, and his interference with *Sayurghal* tenures brought matters to a crisis. The *jagir* holders in Jaunpur, Bihar and Bengal rebelled. That religious excitement was one of the causes of this military revolt, which soon after was confined to Bengal is best seen from the fact that not a single Hindu was on the side of the rebels.

86 Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Op.cit.*, p. 117.

87 *Ain*, p. 370.

88 *Ibid.*

Mirza Yusuf Khan refused to remain in Kashmir, and the country was made *Khalisa*.⁸⁹

Asaf Khan who was sent to Kashmir in the 39th year of Akbar's reign, after the recalling of M. Yusuf Khan, too worked for the improvement of agriculture there. He re-distributed the lands of *Jagir* holders of whom Ahmad Beg Kabuli, Muhammad Quli Afshar and Hasan Arab were the most important. The cultivation of *Za 'faran* and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qazi 'Ali, i.e. at one lakh of *kharwars*, at 24 dams each. Asaf stayed only for three days in Kashmir, and returned to Lahore. In the 42nd year, when Kashmir had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the *Jagir* holders, Asaf Khan was made governor of the province.⁹⁰ Besides his, Asaf Khan was a great horticulturist, planting and lopping off branches with his own hands in his garden and he often transacted business with a garden spade in his hand.⁹¹

Regarding the behaviour of Mirza Barkhurdar, who holds as *fief* Malkapur *pargana* in Berar, Shaikh Farid writes, "He behaved with the ryots and residents of that place in such a way that not a single soul was unhappy with him."⁹²

Thus through these example, it becomes amply clear that Iranis and Turanis in India worked for the advancement of Indian education and for the improvement of Indian agriculture.

89 *Ibid.* "In the 36th year, one of Mirza Yusuf Khan's *Mutasaddis* (revenue clerks) fled to court, and stated that the revenue should be 50 percent (*dah-panzdah*) higher, and the *kharwar* should be valued at 29 dams. Mirza Yusuf informed the emperor that so high an assessment was impossibility; but Akbar sent Qazi Nurullah and Qazi Ali to Kashmir to report on the revenue. Mirza Yusuf officers in the province, convinced that if he persisted in levying the revenue at an enhanced rate, little or nothing would be left for them and their troops, rose in arms and elected as their leader, Yadgar, the governor's cousin. Yadgar assumed the royal title and caused *khutba* to be read in his name. Akbar left Lahore for Kashmir on 3 july 1592, and halted at Bhimbhar while a force which he had sent in advance dispersed the rebels. Yadgar was put to death and his head was presented to the emperor who advanced and on 14 october, entered Srinagar. Mirza Yusuf resigned the government of province, professing himself unable to administer it under the enhanced assessment, and the whole province was therefore classed as crown land and was placed under Khwaja Shamsuddin, who had the charge of Punjab.

90 *Ibid.* p. 453.

91 *Ibid.* p. 453.

92 Sheikh Farid Bhakkari, *Op.cit.*, p. 123.

RELATION OF IRANIS AND TURANIS WITH LOCAL IDENTITIES-

Once Iranis and Turanis came to India, they consider India as their home and eventually realized that for consolidating their position in India, they have to establish good social relations with the local Identities. In extreme cases, they were compelled to use power to bring these local people under their control.

These Iranis and Turanis played role in bringing the local Rajputs to join the Mughal Empire, for instance Majnun Khan Qaqshal⁹³ who happened to be a friend of the Raja Bihari Mal of Amber, proved instrumental in bringing to notice of the emperor, the services of Bihari Mal. The Raja was invited to come to court, where he was presented before the end of first year of Akbar's reign.⁹⁴ Sometimes, local *Zamindars* took shelter with these Irani and Turani nobles, for instance, in 1656, Bahadur Chand, *Zamindar* of Kumaon, had taken refuge with Khalil Allah Khan and with his assistance arrived at the court of Shah Jahan.⁹⁵

In the north, Iranis and Turanis were appointed to tackle with the local chiefs. For instance, in the 35th year, Akbar sent Zain Koka to punish several rebellious *zamindars* in the Himalayas. Most of them, as Raja Budi (Badhi) Chand of Nagarkot, Ray Pertab of Mankot, Raja Parisram of Mount Jamu, Raja Basu of Mau, Ray Balhdadr of Laakhinpur, etc., submitted and accompanied Zain Kan to court.⁹⁶ Towards the end of the 34th year of Akbar, Mirza Aziz Koka was appointed as Governor of Gujrat, in succession to the *Khan-i-Khanan*. In the 36th year, he moved against Sultan Muzaffar, and defeated him in the following year. He then reduced Jam and the other *Zamindars* of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Somnath and sixteen other harbour towns. Junagarh also, the capital of ruler of Sorath, submitted to him and Miyan Khan and Taj Khan, sons of Dawlat Khan ibn-i Amin Khan-i Ghori, joined the Mughals. He then hunt down Sultan Muzaffar, who had taken refuge with

93 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p. 399. He was a grandee of Humayun, and held Narnaul as *jagir*. When Humayun fled to Persia, Haji Khan besieged Narnaul, but allowed Majnun Khan to march away unmolested, chiefly at the request of Raja Bihari Mal, who, at that time, was with Haji Khan.

94 *Ibid*, p. 347. Bihari Mal was the first Rajput, that joined Akbar's court.

95 Inayat Khan, *The Shah Jahan Nama*, Eng. Tr. by A.R. Fuller, edited & completed by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, New York, 1990, p.527.

96 *Ibid*, p. 369. They had an army of 10,000 horse and a lac of foot soldiers.

a *Zamindar* of Dwarka. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muzaffar fled to Kachhh, followed by Aziz. There also the *Zamindars* submitted, and soon after delivered Sultan Muzaffar into his hands.⁹⁷ Similarly in the 22nd year, Sadiq Khan⁹⁸ was ordered to punish Raja Madhukar, should he not submit peacefully. Passing the confines of Narwar, Sadiq Khan saw that kindness would not do; he therefore took the fort of Kaarhara and cutting down the jungle, advanced to the river Dasthara, close to which Undchha lay, Madhukar's residence. A fight ensued. Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Ram Shah. Another son of his, Horal Deo and about 200 Rajputs were killed. Driven to extremities, Madhukar sent ram chand, a relation of his to Akbar at Bahira, and asked and obtained pardon and later with Sadiq, He himself went to the court.⁹⁹ Mirza Jani Beg, the ruler of Thatta, made peace with Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, who was sent by Akbar to occupy Thatta (Sindh).¹⁰⁰ As Mirza Jani Beg submitted and accompanied *Khan Khanan* to court, Sindh was annexed.¹⁰¹ Similarly, Mirza Yusuf Khan, who was sent in the 32nd year as ruler of Kashmir, was much liked by the people of that country, conciliated Shamschak, the claimant to the throne, and sent him to court.¹⁰² Thus these Iranis and Turanis proved instrumental in fomenting the relations of Mughals with local rulers and *Zamindars*.

Iranis and Turanis were even appointed with the local rulers. For instance, Kamal Khan, the Gakkhar, had served *Khan-i-Zaman* in the 6th year of Akbar against the Afghans under the son of Mubariz Khan Adli.¹⁰³ These Gakkhars are a tribe inhabiting, the hilly districts between the Bahat and the Indus. Regarding them, Abul

97 *Ibid*, p.344. No sooner had he been brought to the Mirza than he asked for permission to step aside to perform a call of nature, and cut his throat with a razor.

98 Sadiq Khan was the son of Baqir of Herat.

99 *Ibid*, p. 382. "On the 3rd Ramzan, 986, Sadiq with the penitent Raja arrived at court."

100 *Ibid*, p. 356. "Passing by the fort of Sahwan, he took the Fort of Lakhi, 'which was considered the key of the country, just as Gadhi is in Bengal and Barahmula in Kashmir.' After a great deal of fighting Mirza Jani Beg, ruler of Thatha, made peace, which M.A. being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted. Sahwan was to be handed over to Akbar, M. Jani Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and Mirza Irich, M.A.'s eldest son, was to marry Jani Beg's daughter. But as Mirza Jani Beg, after the rains delayed to carry out the stipulations, M.Aziz. moved to Thatha and prepared itself to take it by assault, when M. Jani Beg submitted and accompanied M.Aziz. to Court. Thus Sindh was annexed."

101 *Ibid*.

102 *Ibid*, p. 370.

103 *Ibid*, pp. 506,507.

Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, “When Kamal Khan, begged the emperor Akbar to put him in possession of the Gakkhar district, Akbar ordered the *Khan-i-Kalan*¹⁰⁴, a Turani and other Punjabi grandees to divide the district into two parts, and to give one of them to Kamal Khan; if Sultan Adam was not satisfied with the other, they should occupy the country and punish Sultan Adam.¹⁰⁵ The latter alternative was rendered necessary by the resistance of Sultan Adam.¹⁰⁶ The Punjab army, therefore, and Kamal Khan entered the Gakkhar district and defeated and captured Adam after a severe engagement near the “*Qasba* of Hila.”¹⁰⁷

These Iranis and Turanis were appointed to check the rebellious elements. For instance, In the north west, Afghans like *Yusufzais*, *Rawshaniyas* were the local people who were creating problems for the Mughals from time to time and for dealing with them, many times Iranis and Turanis were appointed. For instance, in 1585, Zain Koka¹⁰⁸ was sent against *Yusufzais*¹⁰⁹. He punished them and several asked for pardon. He erected a fort in Jakdara, in the middle of the country, and defeated the enemies in twenty three fights.¹¹⁰ He then ask for reinforcements and Akbar sent Bir bar and Hakim Abul Fath with some troops. Their joint operations proved

104 *Khan-i-Kalan*, Mir Muhammad, elder brother of Atga Khan.

105 *Ibid*, p. 338. *Khan-i-Kalan*, while as the governor of Punjab, where most of the *Atgas* had *jagirs*, he distinguished himself in the war with Ghakkars, the extirpation of Sultan Adam, and in keeping down Kamal Khan.

106 *Ibid*, p. 507.

107 *Ibid*. there are many instances of such kind which shows that Indian nobles had served under Irani and Turani nobles and vice-versa.

108 He was Akbar’s foster brother, and was son of Khwaja Maqsud of Herat.

109 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit*, pp. 367, 368. This tribe had formerly in Qarabagh and Qandhar and had invaded Kabul, where a great number of them were killed by M. Ulugh Beg. The remainder settled at Lamghanat, and subsequently at Ishtaghat. For the last one hundred years they had held the territory of Bajor, and were notorious robbers. In Bajor, there was also a tribe of the name of Sultani, who traced their descent to a daughter of Sultan Sikandar. The *Yusufzais* deprived them treacherously of their district; a few of the *Sultanides*, however remained in Bajor from attachment to their old territory.

110 *Ibid*, pp. 367-368.

unsuccessful against the Afghans and Bir Bar was killed.¹¹¹ Regarding this, Badauni writes in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, “Nearly 8,000 men, perhaps even more were, killed. Bir bar also who had fled from fear of his life, was slain, and entered the row of the dogs in hell, and thus got something for the abominable deeds he had done during his lifetime.”¹¹² In the next year, Zain Khan operated successfully against the *Mahmands* and *Ghoris* near Peshawar, who under their chief Jalal ud-din Rawshani had committed numerous predations. In the next year, Zain Khan again moved against these *Yusufzais*, and after eight months fighting, they submitted.¹¹³ He erected a large fort on the banks of the river Pajkora¹¹⁴ and during the festival of the *Id-i Qurbani*¹¹⁵,

111 *Ibid*, p. 368. “Zain Khan asked them to attack the Afghans whilst he would occupy the conquered districts, or he would attack the enemies and they should hold the district. But Bir Bar and Hakim Abul-Fath, who were no friends of Zayn Khan, proposed that they should attack the *Yusufzais* together and then go back. Zain Khan said it would not do to return without better results from a country which had costs so many sacrifices; else, the best thing they could, do was to return the same way they had come. But to this they would not listen; and returned by another road. Zain Khan paid no attention to their insubordination and joined them, chiefly because he was afraid they would denounce him at court. As soon as the Afghans saw the imperialists returning, they attacked them in every narrow valley. On passing the Girewa Balandri, Zain Khan who commanded the rear (chandawal), was so severely attacked that he had to face them. Arrows and stones were showered from all sides on the imperialists, the soldiers got bewildered, and the horses ran in to the train of elephants. Many lives were lost. Zain Khan unable to prevent a rout, rushed among the Afghans seeking death, when Janish Bahadur got hold of the reins of his horse, and led him by force out of the melee. In the greatest disorder, the imperialists reached the next station, when the mere rumour of an approach of the Afghans dispersed the soldiers. In the darkness of night most of them lost their way, and several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the Afghans. These enemies being engaged in plundering, they were at first safe; but next day were all cut off. This was the occasion when Birbar with several officers fell.”

112 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p. 350. He further writes, “During the last night attack, many grandees and persons of renown were killed, as Hasan Khan, and Khwaja Arabb, paymaster (colonel) of Khan Jahan and Mulla Sheri, the poet, and many others whose names I cannot specify. Hakim Abul Fazl and Zayn Khan reached with their defeated troops at the fort of Atok. But His Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than that of Bir Bar. He said, ‘Alas! They could not even get his body out of the pass, that it might have been burned’; but at last, he consoled himself with the thought that Bir Bar was now free and independent of all earthly fetters, and as the rays of the sun were sufficient for him, there should be no necessity that he should be cleansed by fire.”

113 *Ain*, p. 368.

114 Or Panjkora

115 Baqr Id, in *Zi Hijjah*

he surprised the Afghans and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever he thought necessary, and leaving in each a sufficient number of soldiers.¹¹⁶

Similarly Sadiq Khan¹¹⁷, was appointed against *Raawshanis*¹¹⁸ and *Yusafzais*, and was ordered to put them into obedience, which he did with much tact and firmness and subjugate them.¹¹⁹ Rajputs of *Bhadauriya* clan who were called as rebels by Abul Fazl, were kept in check by Adham Khan. Regarding this, Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, “Bayram Khan, in the third year, gave him Hatkanth, South East of Agra, as *jagir*, to check the rebels of the *Bhadauriya* clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble. Though he accused Bayram Khan of partiality in bestowing bad *jagirs* upon such as he did not like, Adham did his best to keep down the *Bhadauriyas*.”¹²⁰ The Rajputs of Shaykhawat, plundered the districts from Mewat to Rewari and was a cause of menace for the Mughals.¹²¹ Akbar, in the 35th year, send Shah Quli Khan against them and he soon restored order and quell their rebellion.¹²²

Ismail Quli Khan who in the 30th year of Akbar, was sent against the Baluchis. On his arrival in Baluchistan the people soon submitted, and their chiefs, Ghazi Khan

116 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit*, p. 369. H. Blochmann writes such forts were called *Thanas*, now the common word for a police station. “*Thana* means a corps of cavalry, matchlockmen, and archers, stationed within an enclosure. Their duty is to guard the roads, to hold the places surrounding the *Thanas* and to dispatch provisions (*rasad*) to the next *Thana*.”

117 He was the son of Baqir of Herat. His father Muhammad Baqir, had been *wazir* to Qara Khan Turkman, ruler of Khurasan. Qara had rebelled against Shah Tahmasp, and fled to India. Sadiq entered Bayram’s service as Rikabdar (spur-holder), and got soon after a *mansab* and was made after Bayram’s death, an *Amir*.

118 *Ibid*, p. 383. Rawshanis in the District of Mount Terah, “which lies west of Peshawar, and is 32 *kos* long and 12 *kos* broad,” commenced disturbances.

119 *Ibid*, p. 383.

120 *Ibid*, p. 341.

121 *Ibid*, p. 387. In the 34th year, as Akbar had mounted a female elephant, he was immediately attacked by a male elephant. Akbar was thrown down and sustained severe contusions. A rumour of his death spread over the whole country; in some provinces even disturbances broke out.

122 *Ibid*, pp. 387-88.

Wajhiya and Ibrahim Khan repaired to court and were allowed to retain the country.¹²³

Many times, these Iranis and Turanis nobles took shelter with the local chiefs for instance, when Mahabat Khan was expelled from the army by Nur Jahan, he tried to take shelter with the mountain (Kohi) Rana (Rana of Chittor); he however did not treat him cordially. From there he came to the country of the Bhils which is situated between the country of the Rana and Gujrat. Twelve thousand Bhil individuals professing allegiance to him gave him shelter. He too weighed the Bhils with gold.¹²⁴

Even in some extreme cases, Iranis and Turanis were even murdered by the local chiefs, for instance Bairam Khan was murdered by the Lohani Afghan of the name of Mubarak.¹²⁵ Sometimes, the local Zamindars proved instrumental in arresting the rebellious Turanis and Iranis, for instance Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain, when joined the rebellion of Mirzas, while passing through the Baglana, was captured by the *Zamindar* of the place, who handed him over to Akbar.¹²⁶

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF IRANIS AND TURANIS WITH INDIANS-

As Iranis and Turanis started settling down in Mughal India, they eventually realised that for their proper adjustment with the Indian society, they had to maintain cordial relations with the people of Indian background. Many Indians were employed in the personal retinue of these Iranis and Turanis. For instance, Said Khan Chaghtai's affairs during his life time was transacted by a Hindu of the name of Chetr Bhoj. Said had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 1200¹²⁷. One of these Khwajasaras, Hilal, joined afterwards Jahangir's service; he built Hilalabad, six *kos* N.W. from Agra, near

123 *Ibid*, p. 388.

124 Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Op.cit.*, p. 37.

125 *Ain*, p.332. "On Friday, 14th *Jumla* I, 968, while alighting from a boat after a trip on the Sahansa Lang Tank, Bayram was stabbed by a Lohani Afghan of the name of Mubarak, whose father had been killed in the battle of Machhiwara. With an *Allahu Akbar* on his lips, he died.'

126 *Ibid*, p.340. Mirza Sharf stayed for some time with Changiz Khan, a Gujrati noble, and then joined the rebellion of *Mirzas*. When Gujrat was conquered, he fled to the Dakhin, and passing through the Baglana, was captured by the *Zamindar* of the place, who after conquest of surat, handed him over to Akbar.

127 *Ibid*, p. 352. H. Blochmann writes that the eunuchs of Bengal and Silhat were renowned.

Rankatta. Another eunuch Ikhtiyar Khan, was his *vakil*, and another Itibar Khan, the Fawjdar of his *Jagir*.¹²⁸

Miza Yusuf Khan¹²⁹, who generally stayed at Sultanpur,¹³⁰ his contingent consisted exclusively of Rohillas, whose wages he paid monthly.¹³¹ Husayn Khan Tuukriya¹³² was the patron of the historian Badaoni who served Husayn as almoner to his estate (Shamsabad and Patyali).¹³³ Regarding Mahabat Khan, Bernier writes, “He treated the Rajput princes with great friendliness, and succeeded with great skill in attaching them to his interests.”¹³⁴ Miyan Fahim was the best among the servants of Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*. Though he was a Rajput, he was brought up by the latter as his own son.¹³⁵

Similarly Hakim Muhammad Husain Gilani who came to India had served under Nawwab Mahabat Khan and later under Khan Zaman.¹³⁶ Later on he was sent on a mission to Bijapur to Adil Khan where he stayed for about ten years and had developed cordial relations with the *Peshwa* of Bijapur.¹³⁷ Regarding him, Shaikh Farid Bhakkhari writes in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin*, “Since, he had developed cordial relations with Mustafa Khan, the *Peshwa* (Prime Minister) of Bijapur, who with his support and assistance and with worthy deliberations which he made with the help of his firm reason, he established good discipline and administration in that country. And

128 *Ibid*, p. 352.

129 He was the son of Mir Ahmad-Razawi. He was a real *Sayyid* of Mashhad and was much liked by Akbar.

130 *Ibid*, p. 371. He looked upon Sultanpur as his Indian home.

131 *Ibid*.

132 *Ibid*, p. 402. He was the sister’s son of Mahdi Qasim Khan. “He is the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar’s reign”.

133 *Ibid*, p. 402.

134 Bernier, *Op.cit.*, p. 163.

135 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Op.cit.*, pp.64,65.

136 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 121. “He came to India and got enrolled in the service of Nawwab Mahabat Khan and was appointed guardian-tutor of his son Mirza Diler Himmat. After that, when his worthy merit became apparent, he became a companion and close associate of the Khan and acquired unbounded intimacy and position in his service. After the death of Nawwab Mahabat Khan, he became the *diwan* of the establishment of *Khan Zaman* and became a man of absolute authority.”

137 *Ibid*, p. 121. For about ten years, he stayed there (discharging) in the best possible manner the service entrusted to him.

he had brought Adil Khan within his control in such a way that he would come to the house of the Hakim many times every month. People of that place say that this type of envoy had not come to that country till that day.”¹³⁸

There were many Irani and Turani nobles who before joining the Mughal court, served the Deccan kingdoms and had developed good and cordial relations with the ruling class and the local people there. The foremost example of this was Mir Jumla. Qizilbash Turkman, when came to India, he arrived at Bijapur by sea.¹³⁹ Ibrahim Adil Khan, the Bijapuri ruler, considering his noble arrival a boon, took him in his service and made him *bakhshi* of 40,000 troopers; he held that post for a period of twenty years.¹⁴⁰

In the field of painting, the presence of Persian painters in the Mughal court under early Mughal Emperors and their interaction with the Indian artists greatly contributed to the evolution of the Persianized school of Indian art which matured as Mughal school. It were Iranis like Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abdus Samad who were master painters at Mughal court, under whom several Indian artists worked and flourished. The most prominent master painter was Khwaja Abdus Samad, under whom the Daswant received the highest recognition over and above his colleague and rival Basawan.¹⁴¹ Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, ‘From the instructions they received, the Khwaja’s pupils became masters.’¹⁴² He further writes, ‘One day the eye of His Majesty fell on him (Daswant); his talent was discovered, and he himself handed him over to the Khwaja. In a short time, he surpassed all painters and became the first master of the age.’¹⁴³ Aqa Riza of Herat, at Jahangir’s court, was another painter, who like Abdus Samad gave instruction in painting.

138 *Ibid*, p. 122. He further mentions that even though personal monetary gain also accrued to him in that place, his expenses were heavy; in particular, he had laid out, i.e. hosted abundant meals and gave many gifts and presents to the people there.

139 Shaikh Farid, *op.cit.*, p.215. He was the son of Tahmasp-baig son of Qadir Aqa. The latter was for some time the *vakil* of Shah Ismail Safavi the ruler of Iran and enjoyed nearness and position there. After him, Qizilbash came on the scene and was the recipient of Shah’s favours.

140 *Ibid*. After that, he joined the services of Shah Jahan, on the latter’s invitation.

141 *Ain*, p. 114.

142 *Ibid*.

143 *Ibid*.

According to an inscription on a miniature 'A saint reading a book' in the *Muraqqa-i-Gulshan* (Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran), the woman painter Nadira Banu is described as the pupil of Aqa Riza.¹⁴⁴ Besides, painters from Bukhara, Kabul, and Samarqand and other parts of Central Asia were active at the imperial Mughal studio; the most distinguished among them were Farrukh Beg Musawir of Kabul, Muhammad Nadir of Samarqand, and Farukh Qalmaq (of Mongol origin).¹⁴⁵ Their style and technique set the trend in Mughal atelier; it not only shaped the Mughal *qalm*, but also inspired the artistic expression in general for at least two centuries. Thus Irani and Turani painters influenced Indian painters and along with them contributed to the evolution of Mughal painting.

In the field of music too, the presence of Irani and Turani musicians at Mughal court greatly influenced this art. Akbar was a great patron of singers and musicians and created a separate department of *khanyagaran* (singers) in which a large number of Indian, Turanian, Iranian and Kashmiri artists were employed.¹⁴⁶ Abul Fazl has given a detailed list of principal musicians of Mughal court in which Usta Dost of Mashhad, Mir Sayyid Ali of Mashhad, Usta Yusuf of Hirat, Tash Beg of Qipchaq, Sultan Hafiz Husayn of Mashhad, Bahram Quli of Hirat, Sultan Hashim of Mashhad, Hafiz Khwaja Ali of Mashhad, Mir Abdullah, Pirzada of Khurasan were the prominent Irani and Turani musicians who used to sing and play music along with the singers of Indian background.¹⁴⁷ The peculiar thing which I noticed in this list is that while mentioning Indian artists, Abul Fazl writes that they sing except few, however while mentioning Irani and Turani musicians, he writes that they play on various instruments. For instance, Usta Dost of Mashhad plays on *flute*, Mir Sayyid Ali of Mashhad plays on *ghichak*, Usta Yusuf of Hirat plays on *Tambura*, Qasim surnamed Koh-bar has invented an instrument intermediate between the *qubuz* and the *rubab*, Tash Beg of Qipchaq plays on the *qubuz*, Bahram Quli plays on *ghichak*, Sultan

144 S.P Verma, *Op.cit.*, p. 152.

145 *Ibid.*

146 M. A Ansari, *Social Life of the Mughal Emperors (1526-1707)*, New Delhi, 1974, II rpt. 1983, p. 175. Many of them were raised to the ranks of *Amirs*. Court musicians were divided into seven batches, one for each day of the week. Akbar educated himself in the art of music.

147 *Ain*, pp. 681,682.

Hashim plays on the *tambura*, Mir Abdullah plays on *Qanun*.¹⁴⁸ It shows that they not only sing, but by playing the musical instruments, they influenced the Indian artists and enriched the Music of Mughal court.

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES

Once settled, these Iranis and Turanis started establishing matrimonial relations not only among themselves but also with the local ruling groups as well as with the Mughal Emperors. There were many instances of Mughal emperors marrying into the families of Iranis and Turanis. For instance, Babur's favourite wife was Maham whose ancestral relatives included the Persian holy man *Ahmad-i-Jam*. Babur married her in 1506, at the age of 22. Two years later, she presented him with Humayun, who was to become his favourite son and heir. Humayun's wife was Gulbarg, 'Rose Petal', who came from the Turkmen clan of Barlas. She accompanied Humayun in his flight to Sind, during which he became acquainted with the young Hamida,¹⁴⁹ whose family, like the Mahams, was extremely proud of its descent from the great Sufi master *Ahmad-i-Jam*, known as *Zindapil*, 'the living elephant'.¹⁵⁰ Hamida Banu rebuffed Humayun's proposal for days and weeks, politely in the beginning, stiffly as he persisted. In the end, she succumbed to his persistence and persuasion.¹⁵¹ The marriage was arranged by Babur's widow Dildar Begum, against the wishes of her own son Hindal, and possibly against her own inclination as well.¹⁵² Nevertheless in

148 *Ibid.*

149 Hamida was of the family of *Zhindeh-fil* Ahmed Jam, a celebrated saint.

150 A. Schimmel, *Op.cit.*, p. 146.

151 Harbans Mukhia, *The Mughals of India*, New Delhi, 2004, p.119.

152 Gubadan, *Humayun nama (History of Humayun)*, tr. By A.S. Beveridge, *Vol.I*, Delhi, 2009, p.220. "During the festivities that attended the Emperor's arrival, Hindal's mother, Dildar Begum, gave a grand entertainment, to which all the ladies of the court were invited; and among them was Hamida, then only fourteen, the daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Jami, Hindal's preceptor. Humayun captivated with her appearance, inquired if she was yet betrothed; and being told that she had been promised, but that the ceremony of betrothment had not yet taken place; "Then", said the Emperor, "I will marry her." Hindal much offended, observed to his brother, that he had supposed that his Majesty's visit to Pater had been to do him honour, and not to look out for a young bride; but that, if the Emperor persisted in doing anything so unbecoming, he must quit his Majesty's service. Dildar Begum, who overheard this altercation, interposed, reproved her son, and attempted to settle the dispute. But, as Hindal refused to apologize for the unseemly language he had used, Humayun left the house in high displeasure, and went on board a boat. Dildar, however, followed the Emperor, prevailed upon him to return back, made up the quarrel between the brothers, and next

1541, the marriage took place, and in 1542, Hamida gave birth to son, who would become famous as Akbar.

In the 5th year of his reign, Akbar gave his sister Bakhshi Banu Begum in marriage to Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain.¹⁵³ In the 32nd year, Prince Murad married the daughter of Mirza Aziz Koka.¹⁵⁴ In the 41st year of Akbar, Prince Salim fell in love with Zain Khan's daughter, and married her soon after,¹⁵⁵ though Akbar was displeased, as he was not in favour of marriage of near relations.¹⁵⁶ Qaim Khan's daughter, Saliha Banu was received by Jahangir in his harem, and went by the title of *Padishah Mahall*.¹⁵⁷ Daughter of Mirza Muzaffar Hussain was married to Khurram, regarding which Jahangir writes in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, "I had had the daughter of Mirza Muzaffar Husain, son of Sultan Husain Mirza Safawi, ruler of Qandahar, betrothed to my son Sultan Khurram, and on this date, the 17th *Aban*, as the marriage meeting had been arranged, I went to the house of Baba Khurram and passed the night there."¹⁵⁸

The best manifestation of marriage of an Irani with the Mughal ruler was the marriage of Mehru-n nisa, daughter of Itimad-ud-daula with Jahangir. Regarding her, Shaikh Farid Bhakkhari writes in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin*, "Earlier, that righteous lady was in the matrimonial alliance of Ali Quli Baig (entitled) Sher-Afgan. When he got killed in Bangala, sons and servants of Quutbud-Din Khan sent that chaste lady to the most sublime court. His Majesty, the emperor, due to the affliction he had at the killing of

day gave as nuptial banquet, when the young lady was married and delivered to the Emperor, with her blessing."

153 *Ain*, p. 339. Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain was a man of noble descent. His father Khawja Muin was the son of Khwand Mahmud, second son of Khwaja Kalan, eldest son of renowned saint Khwaja Nasiruu'd-Din Ubaydullah Ahrar. Hence Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain was generally called *Ahrari*.

154 *Ibid*, p. 344.

155 *Ibid*, p. 369.

156 *Ibid*, p. 288. Akbar considers the Marriage between near relations as highly improper. He says, "The fact that, in ancient times even, a girl was not given to her twin brother ought to silence those who are fond of historical proofs. Marriage between first cousins, however, does not strike the bigoted followers of Muhammad's religion as wrong; for the beginning of a religion resembles in this regard, the beginning of the creation of mankind."

157 *Ibid*, p.401. She adopted *Miyan Joh*, son of Abdur-Rahim. *Miyan Joh* was killed by Mahabat Khan, when near the *Bahat* (Jhelum) he had taken possession of Jahangir's person.

158 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p. 180.

Qutbuddin Khan entrusted the begum to Ruqayya Sultan Begum wife of his Majesty *Arshastani* so that she might live in her apartments. Since, the pen of destiny had (already) written that she would become Queen of the World and Lady of the time, she was admitted to the cadre of respected inmates of the seraglio; Closest possible attachment took place (between the two), and from day to day position of her power escalated and attained greatest height. He first gave her the title of Nur-Mahal and after some time bestowed on her the title of Nur-Jahan Begum.”¹⁵⁹ Gradually, the affairs of the kingdom were in her hands and towards, the end, her name was included in the coin itself. About her powers, Shaikh Farid further writes, “Except for the fact that her name was not recited in the sermon, whatever other requisites of kingship are there were performed by her.”¹⁶⁰

In 1620-21, Itimad-ud-Daula’s granddaughter was married to Jahangir’s son Shahryar and a lac of rupees in cash and goods were sent as a *sachiq*.¹⁶¹ Regarding this event, Jahangir himself writes in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, “Most of the great *amirs* and important courtiers accompanied the *sachiq* to Itimad-ud-Daula’s quarters, where a large celebration of the utmost elaborateness was held. It is hoped the marriage will be blessed. Since Itimad-ud-Daula had built fine buildings and very elaborate sitting places in his quarters, he invited me to be his guest. I went with the ladies of the harem. He had arranged a splendid celebration and paraded before my view worthy offerings of every description. To please him I took what I liked.”¹⁶² Jahangir was hopeful that this marriage will prove to be auspicious for this dynasty.¹⁶³ Jahangir’s

159 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 14.

160 *Ibid*, p. 14. “Whoever took recourse to her court (for some thing), he would be successful in achieve whatever object he had. During the time of government of that house of generosity, India received (great) splendour and freshness and it has left its good name till the time of Resurrection”

161 *The Jahangir nama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, Tr. & ed. by Wheeler Thackstons, 1999, p. 353.

162 *Ibid*.

163 *Ibid*, p. 361. “On the fourth of the month (April 13) a celebration was held for my son Shahryar’s marriage. The Henna party was held in Maryam-uz-zamani’s quarters and the marriage was performed in I’timad ud dawla’s house. I went myself with the ladies of the harem and participated in the celebration. After eight *gharis* had elapsed of Thursday’s night, the wedding took place under favorable auspices. It is hoped that it will prove to be auspicious for this dynasty.”

child Prince Khusrau was married to a daughter of Azam Khan Koka.¹⁶⁴ Jahangir's other son, Sultan Parviz was married to the daughter of Mirza Rustam Khan-i-Safavi and Shahrayar was married in the 16th year of Jahangir to Mihrun-Nisa, the daughter of Nur Jahan by Sher Afkan, and had a daughter by her, Arzani Begum.¹⁶⁵ Shahjahan too was married to the daughter of an Irani Mirza Muzaffar Hussain,¹⁶⁶ the son of Sultan Husayn Safavi by Jahangir.¹⁶⁷ This marriage took place in 1610-11.¹⁶⁸ Itimad-ud-Daula's son Itiqad Khan's daughter Arjumand Banu was married to Shah Jahan in 1612-13.¹⁶⁹ She was later entitled *Mumtaz Mahal*, for whom the Taj Mahal was built.

Iranis and Turanis intermarried among themselves too. For instance Mirza Aziz Koka's son Mirza Anwar was married to the daughter of Zain Khan Koka.¹⁷⁰ Mirza's other son Mirza Khurram married the daughter of Khan Khanan (Irani), but did not get on with her and for that reason fell from grace and did not progress.¹⁷¹ Asaf Khan's son Mirza Ali Asghar was married to the daughter of Mutamid Khan Bakhshi¹⁷². But as no cohabitation had taken place due to the untimely death of Mirza Ali Ashghar, Shah Jahan married her to Khan Dawran.¹⁷³ Ghazi Khan Firuz Jang was married to the daughter of Sadullah Khan.¹⁷⁴

164 *Ibid.*

165 Abul Fazl, p. 324.

166 Mirza Muzaffar Husayn is the son of Sultan Husayn Mirza, the son of Bahram Mirza, the son of Shah Ismail the Safavid.

167 *The Jahangirnama*, p. 103. "On Sunday the fifteenth, I sent fifty thousand rupees worth of *sachiq* to the house of Muzaffar Husayn Mirza's daughter, whose hand had been asked for in marriage to my son Khurram."

168 *Ibid*, p. 114. "On this day, the seventeenth of *Aban* (October 28), when the banquet was held, I went to Baba Khurram's house and stayed the night there."

169 *Ibid*, p. 137. "Since I had affianced Khurram to Itimad ud Dawla's son Itiqad Khan's daughter, and the wedding celebrations were being held, on Thursday the eighteenth of *Khurdard* (May 28) I went to Khurram's house and spent a day and night there. He presented offerings for my inspection, arranged favors for the Begums, his mother and step mothers, and the harem servants, and gave robes to the *amirs*."

170 *Ain*, p. 346 and also see Bhakkari, p. 117.

171 Shaikh Farid Bhakkhari, *Op.cit.*, p. 117.

172 He was the author of *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*

173 *Ain*, p. 454.

174 Samsam ud Daula & Abdul Hayy, *Op.cit.*, p.592.

Besides, in order to strengthen their relations with the local ruling class of India, Iranis and Turanis married within the families of local ruling groups too. Regarding this, Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, "In 961, when Humayun returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the *Zamindars* of the country, and after marrying the eldest daughter of Jamal Khan of Mewat¹⁷⁵, he asked Bayram Khan to marry the younger one."¹⁷⁶ Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* was born from this wedlock. Mahabat Khan had married the daughter of Pokaran chief, a relative of Rawal Kalyan of Jaiselmar to his son and gave them so much money, goods, horses and elephants that they all submitted to his authority and the royal army which was sent against him by Nur Jahan could not attack him.¹⁷⁷

However, the most peculiar feature of their matrimonial alliances was that unlike Rajputs, with whom Mughals were not prepared to give the girls from the Mughal ruling house, nor were the Rajputs willing to accept, there are instances when ladies from the Mughal royal household were given in marriage to Irani and Turani nobles.¹⁷⁸ For instance Babur's sister Khanzada Begum was married to Mehdi Khwaja and Akbar's sister Bakshi Bano Begum was married to Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain.¹⁷⁹

Thus from above, it becomes clear that Iranis and Turanis once settled, made earnest attempts to adjust themselves with the Indian society. They tried to follow Indian culture in their daily life ranging from dresses, jewellery, food etc. and even act as an agent of cultural transmission. Many among them, through their innovations, tried to set a new trend of fashion in the Mughal court and the best manifestation of this is Nur Jahan. They interacted with the people of Indian background and some among them even enjoyed their patronage. They establish good social relations with the local identities of Mughal India and tried to adjust themselves in order to consolidate their position in India. They made immense contribution to the Indian education and agricultural production. Besides, in order to further legitimise their position in the Indian society, they established matrimonial relations with the Mughal rulers as well

175 He was the nephew of Hasan Khan of Mewat. *Khanazads* of Mewat were chiefly converted *Janjuha* Rajputs.

176 *Ain*, p. 354.

177 Shaikh Farid Bhakkhari, *Op.cit.*, p. 45.

178 S. Chandra, *Essays on Medieval Indian History*, New Delhi, 2003, p. 102.

179 *Ain*, p.339.

as with the people of Indian background, all of which led to the social intermingling of Iranis and Turanis with the Indian society.

ROLE OF IRANIS AND TURANIS IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF MUGHAL INDIA

Iranis and Turanis came to India along with their families and settled down in various regions of Mughal Empire. Their life style, social customs, values, norms which they brought from Central Asia was further influenced by the social and economic conditions prevailing in Indian society. They intermingled and assimilated themselves in the prevailing Indo-Mughal culture and played an important role in further enriching the socio-economic life of Mughal India. Though the contemporary sources and the account of foreign travellers who visited India during the 16th and 17th centuries throws a great deal of light on the socio-economic life of nobility in Mughal India, this chapter is an attempt to study the various aspects of the particular role played by Iranis and Turanis in the socio-economic life of Mughal India.

1. Their Standard of living and its impact on other groups
2. Use of socio-economic influence to achieve political gains
3. Public works and charities
4. Cultural synthesis brought by Iranis and Turanis in India under Mughals

THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING AND ITS IMPACT ON OTHER SOCIAL GROUPS

Like other sections of nobility¹, Iranis and Turanis too were living a life of great ostentation and luxury. As spending, and not hoarding, was the dominant feature of the time, therefore the example of magnificence set by the emperors was eagerly followed by their courtiers and officials.² Moreover, the standard of living of these

1 Rajputs, Indian Muslims, Marathas.

2 M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, Delhi, 1997, p.64. It was due to the law of escheat, according to which that the Emperor first actually took possession of the entire wealth of the noble, and then disposed of it as he choose, taking some part of it for himself and leaving the rest to the heirs of the nobles in portions determined by himself. For instance, after the death of Ali Mardan Khan in 1657, his whole property, amounting in cash and goods, to one crore of rupees, was seized (*baqa'id-I zabt dar amad*). From bountiful generosity, the Emperor bestowed thirty lacs on Ibrahim Khan, and twenty lacs on the remaining three sons and ten daughters, while fifty lacs were appropriated to the imperial treasury against the *mutaliba*.

Iranis and Turanis was directly proportional to their political and economic status. Those who were higher in the political and economic hierarchy were enjoying more opulent and luxurious life as compared to others. Regarding the Mughal nobility, Bernier writes in *Travels in Mogul Empire*, that they maintained “large establishments of wives, servants, camels and horses”.³ It shows that Irani and Turani nobles too have spent a large part of their income on their household, of which *harem* was the main part. Their harem consists not only of the wives, but concubines, *eunuchs* and servants too. For instance, Said Khan had a passion for *eunuchs*, of whom he had 1200.⁴ One of these *Khwajasaras*, Hilal, joined afterwards Jahangir’s service; he built Hilalabad, six *kos* N.W. from Agra, near Rankatta.⁵ Another of his *eunuch*, Ikhtiyar Khan was his *Vakil*, and another, Itibar Khan, was the *Faujdar* of his *jagir*.⁶

Many among them owned multi-storied mansions with gardens and running water, large harem and a multitude of male and female retainers. Regarding their mansions, Shah Nawaz Khan writes in his *Zakhirat ul Khawannin* that Khwaja Jahan Kabuli, Khwaja Waisi and Itiqad Khan were the ones who laid the foundation of mansions of a new pattern in Akbarabad.⁷ Regarding Itiqad Khan, Inayat Khan writes in *Shah Jahan Nama*, “The mansion of Itiqad Khan was the finest of those superb edifices erected by the opulent nobility in the metropolis along the Jumna.”⁸ It was Khwaja Waisi, an Iranian who first constructed the edifice of *hammam* inside a garden in his mansion on the bank of Yamuna in Akbar bad which was liked by all.⁹ Even the nobles who were of lower ranks did not spent any less on their harem, gardens and domestic luxuries. For instance, Amanat Khan, although was a mansabdar of 700

3 Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, Eng. Tr. A. Constable, rev. V.A Smith, New Delhi, 1968, p.213.

4 Abul Fazl, Allami, *The Ain-i-Akbari, Vol.I*, Tr. by H. Blochmann, ed.by D.C. Phillot, Delhi, 1990. The *eunuchs* of Bengal and Silhat were renowned.

5 Ibid, Sikandra (or Bihishtabad), where Akbar’s tomb is, lies halfway between Agra and Rankatta.

6 *Ibid*.

7 Shaikh Farid, *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, Eng. Tr. Z.A. Desai, in “Nobility Under The Great Mughals”, New Delhi, 2003, p. 69.

8 Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan nama*, edited and completed by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, New Delhi, 1990, p. 299

9 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p.140.

only, had built a spacious and magnificent house at Fazilpur (Burhanpur) with a garden attached to it, and a number of tanks in the house were fed by a canal.¹⁰

However, there were some who despite their high political rank, were living a very simple life and the best example of this is Mahabat Khan.¹¹ The cost of his own wearing apparel did not go up to five rupees. He did not have a high parasol (*sayaban*). He would set up something like a tent (*kundala*) and his tent-enclosure had a canvass-screen alongside. In the matter of carpets, he did not take recourse to any extravagance. And minimum one-time meal would be served in his assembly consisted of two trays of *pulao* (fried rice cooked with meat), two trays of *Khushka* (fried rice) in which were used one maund of *kamod* rice and thirteen seers of melted butter), two trays of broth, two trays of rice-*khichri* and two trays of millet-*khichri* which in all (came to) twelve trays and a seer (and) half sugar and a dish of meat, spinach (*sag*), and vegetable curry (*salan*). He employed best Irani, Turani, Kashmiri and European (*firangi*) cooks. In his employment were even Brahmins who cooked food for Hindus. And *chapatinan* (loaf) etc. of twelve varieties were brought to the dining mat (table).¹²

Not only houses, but in dresses too, these Iranis and Turanis were known for their uniqueness.¹³ Irani nobles like Mirza Abu Said, Hashim Khan, Asaf Khan, Itimad ud Daula, Itiqad Khan were known for their elegant food dresses and household effects. For instance Hashim Khan was known to took great pains in the matter of clothes, carpets, canopies, food and perfumes.¹⁴ Few men from Iran would be having such fine taste for food and elegant dress as Mirza Abu Said.¹⁵ Iranians were the leaders in designing new dresses for themselves as well for the nobility. The best example of this can be found in the dresses designed by Nur Jahan. She designed *Dodami* (flowered muslin) for dress, *Panchtoliya* for veils, *Badla* and *Kinara* (silver thread lace). Shaikh Farid Bhakkri in *Zakhiratul Khawanin* writes that *dodamni* (cloth weighing two dams) for *pishwaz* (full dress gown) and *pachtoliya* (stuff weighing five

10 Athar Ali, *Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1966, p.168.

11 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 54.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Sheikh Farid Bhakkari, *Op.cit.*, p.76.

14 *Ibid*, p.103.

15 *Ibid*, p.110.

tolas) for head cover (*orhani*) for women each of which cost forty rupees came into existence in her time.¹⁶ Besides she also designed inexpensive dresses for marriage ceremonies and named it *Nur Mahali*.¹⁷ Mughal governor in Kashmir, Itiqad Khan introduces new pattern of shawls, *pattu*, *tabrizi* and *karbalai* in woollen in Kashmir.¹⁸

Regarding perfumery, they were not only fond of but some among them even invented it. Asmat Begum, extracted rose scent from rose petals and presented it to Jahangir who admired it immensely and gave her a pearl string in reward.¹⁹ Jahangir in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* was showing regret that the nostrils of his father were not gratified with the essence of *Jahangiri-Itr*. He was so impressed that he wrote that there was no other scent of equal importance to it and the strength of the perfume was such that if one drop be rubbed on the palm of the hand, it scent the whole assembly and it appears as if many red rose buds had bloomed at once.²⁰ Through these innovations, Iranis not only tried to demonstrate their refined taste but also set a new trend of fashion in the Mughal court.

Some among these Iranis and Turanis were the recipients of princely favours under Mughals. For instance, during the reign of Shah Jahan, Yamin-ud-Daula Asaf Khan *Khan-i-Khanan*, Commander-in-chief, who enjoyed the *mansab* of 9000 personal and 9000 horse, had a gross pay of sixteen crores and twenty lacs of *Dams*. His net profits or income after paying his contingent amounted to fifty lacs of rupees.²¹ He built a splendid mansion for himself at Lahore at a cost of twenty lacs of rupees and lived in a princely style.²² At his death he left money and valuables worth two crores and fifty lacs of rupees. This vast amount consisted of jewels worth thirty lacs, gold *mohurs* worth forty two lacs, gold and silver utensils of the value of thirty lacs, one crore and twenty five lacs in rupees, and miscellaneous articles worth another twenty-three

16 *Ibid*, p.15.

17 Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-lubab*, Tr. by A.J. Syed, Calcutta, 1929, p.269.

18 Sheikh Farid Bhakkari, *Op.cit.*,p.69.

19 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol-I, Eng. Tr. A. Rogers, ed. by H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1979, p.271.

20 *Ibid*.

21 Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama*, Vol.I, Tr. by Dr. Hamid Afaq Siddiqi, Delhi, 2011, p.15.

22 Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Op.cit*,p. 10. He built mansions at Lahore and Akbarabad.

lacs.²³ Regarding wealth of Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan, Badaoni writes in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* that the private treasures of Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan exceeded ten crores.²⁴

The emoluments of Ali Mardan Khan who died during Shah Jahan's time were altogether 30 lacs of rupees. With these princely emoluments, these Iranis and Turanis *amirs* could live in a princely style. In Akbar's reign, one of his Turani noble, Pir Muhammad Khan, was so wealthy and had such an expensive style of living, that when the *Khan Khanan* went on a hunting expedition with him and expressed a desire to have something to eat as he was feeling hungry, Pir Muhammad Khan asked him to get down and eat whatever was available there. The *Khan Khanan* accepted the offer of hospitality and prepared himself to sit down expecting a hastily prepared meal in the hunting ground. He and his suite were astonished to see a magnificent feast spread before them. There were 3000 drinking cups and 700 porcelain dishes of various colours which came out of the travelling stores of Pir Muhammad Khan.²⁵

Thus Iranis and Turanis through their luxurious and opulent lifestyle became the subject of so much speculation and emulation that even the foreign travellers²⁶ who wrote their account much later also make reference about it in their accounts.

USE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC INFLUENCE

These Iranis and Turanis use their socio-economic clout in India to achieve political gains. For instance, there were many instances in Mughal India when social relations were being established and used for political gains. The best example of this phenomenon is the relations of Rajputs with the Mughal Emperors. Iranis and Turanis nobles too utilised their social relations to rise in the political hierarchy and occasionally the exploitation of these social relations led them to rise in revolt against the Mughal throne and sometimes act as a king maker.

23 Lahori, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.96.

24 Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol.II, Eng.Tr. By W.H Lowe, Patna, 1973, p.341.

25 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.19.

26 Even Manucci ascribes the invention of perfume to Nurjahan Begum and mention, "In those days, a hundred rupees were paid for one rupee weight of the said essence, nowadays it is to be got for 15 rupees owing to the great quantity of roses grown in that Empire."

Two of the leading historians of Akbar's reign, Abul Fazl in *Akbarnama* and Nizamuddin in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, assert that Babur's *wakil*, Khalifa Nizamuddin, who was a great favourite of Babur, wanted to set aside Humayun and his brothers, and put on the throne Mehdi Khwaja who came from a distinguished family and was married to Babur's elder sister, Khanazadah Begum.²⁷ It is implied that in this way Khalifa wanted to keep all power in his hands. The scheme could hardly hope to succeed because Mehdi Khwaja was not a Timurid, and there was little chance of the *begs* accepting a non-Timurid.²⁸ Similarly *Mirzas* considered themselves as equal in every respect to the reigning emperor and wanted to be a co-partner in the business of sovereignty. So important was their lineage that even as minors they sometimes received noble rank. Muhammad Hussain Mirza, Ibrahim Mirza, Hussain Mirza and Akil Mirza were enrolled among the nobles of Akbar's court, while still in their minority.²⁹ These *Mirzas* were haughty and arrogant and were constantly rebelling against the established authority. Mirza Sharaf-ud-din, Mirza Sulaiman, Shah Mirza, Mirza Ibrahim Hussain, Mirza Ulugh Beg and Mirza Muhammad Hakim were the most important of them.³⁰ Under Jahangir, it were Iranis like Fathu-llah, son of Hakim Abd-l-Fath, Nuru-d-din, son of Ghiyasu-d-din al-Asaf Khan and Sharif, son of Itimad-ud-daulah conspired with Khusrau against Jahangir.³¹

27 Zahir'd-din Muhammad Babur, *Baburnama (Memoirs of Babur) Vol.II*, Eng Tr. by Annette Susannah Beveridge, Delhi, 1997, p. 703.

28 S.Chandra, *Medieval India; From Sultanate To The Mughals; Part Two; Mughal empire (1526-1748)*, New Delhi, 2007, p. 48. S. Chandra writes that, less plausible appears to be the suggestion of some modern historians that it was Babur himself who had suggested such a step because he was dissatisfied with Humayun for his failure in the last Samarqand campaign, and leaving Badakhshan for Agra without notice. Even if Babur was dissatisfied with Humayun, he would hardly have agreed to the supersession of all his other sons. Even these historians argue that soon after his return, Humayun was reconciled with Babur who posted him to Sambhal, and then nominated him as his successor. Thus, the plot just faded away. It would appear that it was never a plot and never had Babur's backing, but was in the nature of a wild idea which has received more currency than was its due, and that, at best, it reflects the suppressed ambitions of some of the Babur's *begs*. Anyhow Khalifa Nizamuddin remained high in favour with Humayun after his accession."

29 Ferishta's *History of the rise of the Mahomedan Power*, translated by J. Briggs, *Vol.II*, p. 226.

30 R.P. Khosla, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, Delhi, 1976, p. 230.

31 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, *Vol.I*, p.122

Sometimes these social relations with the Mughal Emperors led to the rise of whole families of these Iranis and Turanis and the best example is the family of Nur Jahan. After her marriage with Jahangir, all her relations and connections were raised to honour and wealth. Mirza Ghiyas Beg (Itimad-ud-Daulah) in consequences of his daughter's marriage with the Emperor was made *Wakil-i-kul* or Prime Minister, and a commander of 6,000 and 3000 horses. He also received a flag and a drum, and was later allowed to beat his drum at the court, which was a rare privilege.³² His son Abul Hasan first received the title of *Itiqad Khan*; subsequently the title of Asaf Khan was conferred upon him, afterwards, he relinquished the former title of *Itiqad Khan*.³³

Nur Jahan's relatives had been in high offices in the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Mirza Ghias Beg had three sons and three daughters including Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan, they were namely Muhammad Sharif (known as Mirza Abu Talib Shaista Khan), governor of Bengal, Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jung, governor of Bihar, and younger than Nur Jahan and was married to Haji Hur Parwar Khanum (Nur Jahan's *Khala* or maternal aunt who lived up to the middle of Aurangzeb's reign),³⁴ Nur Jahan's sisters also fared well after her marriage to the Emperor. Her brother-in-law, Mir Qasim, for example, known as Qasim Khan Juvaini, husband of Nur Jahan's sister Manija, was given a *mansab* of 500 *zat* in 1611 A.D. and by Jahangir's death in 1627 A.D. had been raised to 4,000 *zat* and 2,000 *sawar* and was made governor of Agra. The husband of another sister Khadija Begum, a man named Hakim Baig, was in time honoured with the title *Hakim Khan* and with the usual presents due 'one of the household of the court'.³⁵ Nur Jahan's role in the rise of her family's fortune was significant; it is true that before 1611 A.D. her no family member held a provincial governorship under Jahangir, and between 1611 and 1627 A.D. about twelve such members did.³⁶ Thus there is no doubt that until Asaf Khan's death in 1641 A.D. for over three decades this obscure family from Persia wielded enormous power in the Mughal Empire and exerted significant influence on the politics and the culture of

32 *Ain*, p.573.

33 M. Athar Ali, *The Appartus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, Delhi, 1985, p. xxiv.

34 *Ain*, p. 576.

35 M. Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p. 224.

36 *Ibid*.

their time. Even Manucci says, “Through her influence the court of the Great Mogul (Mughal) was filled with great nobles from Persia.”³⁷

There were some Irani and Turani *Sufis* who used their influence to strengthen the Mughal foothold in India. The spread of Naqshbandi Sufism in the Deccan, as indeed in India more generally, was closely associated with the Mughal rule. Burhanpur, the centre for the onset of the Deccan conquests under Shah Jahan, had become an important Naqshbandi centre in the decades before Shah Palangposh and Shah Musafir arrived in the Deccan. Prominent among the Sufis of Burhanpur was Muhammad Kishmi, who had migrated into the Mughal realms from his native Badakhshan. In India, he became associated with the self-styled Naqshbandi renewer (*mujaddid*) Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1034/1624) and went on to establish an important circle of followers of Sirhindi in Burhanpur. In 1065/1654 another Naqshbandi circle was established some miles away from Burhanpur at Balapur by Shah Inayat Allah (d. 1117/1705). As the Mughals gradually moved southwards, Naqshbandi holy men and members of prominent families descended from the Naqshbandi saints of the Bukhara region helped introduce the religious foundations of the Mughal cultural world of Hindustan and Central Asia into the Indian south. As Aurangzeb moved southwards from Awrangabad, in 1065/1654-5), Khwaja Barkhwurdar, one such descendant (*Khwajazada*) of an earlier Naqshbandi saint, was even appointed as the commander (*qiladar*) of the fortress of Awsa. Shah Palangposh and Shah Musafir had probably arrived in India by 1085/1674.

Shah Palangposh had developed a reputation as a miraculous protector of armies in his Central Asian homeland, and so began an association with the Mughal army on his arrival in the Deccan that continued throughout his career. The accounts of Shah Palangposh’s behaviour during his early years of military accompaniment with the army of Firoz Jang reveal a striking portrait of a face of Sufism that is rarely seen. During his years in Deccan, he fashioned a clear role for himself as the protector of the Central Asian soldiery among the Mughal forces in their outgoing skirmishes with the Marathas. Shah Palangposh’s disciple, Shah Musafir, too pay special attention to widows and orphans, many of whom lived in his *takiyya*, where children (probably

37 Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India* (1653-1708,) tr.by William Irvine, 1st ed. 1907, rpt 1966, Vol.I, p. 164.

drawn from the Central Asian community in the city) were also given an education. The offerings of money that Shah Musafir received from his many dependants, showing the sufi in a social role that is not always recognised. Although sought by men and women of diverse social status, Shah Musafir's clients were almost all of Central Asian (Turani) origin. He was also called upon to cure a variety of illnesses, including epilepsy and a variety of mental disorders. In another instance, his intercession was seen to cause rainfall during a drought, while it was suggested that he helped protect the city during a Maratha raid.³⁸

There were many Iranis and Turanis who rose in the political hierarchy due to their sound economic and social position and the best example of this is Mir Jumla. Mir Jumla belonged to an extremely indigent Sayyid family of Esfahan and his father, Mir Hazaru, was a poor oil merchant of Esfahan. He took the service of clerk to a diamond merchant, who was frequently in touch with Golconda. This early experience about diamond trade stood him in good stead in his subsequent career and proved to be the cornerstone of his prosperity.³⁹ After attaining the age of maturity, he joined the service of a Persian merchant, who was carrying some horses from Persia for sale to the king of Golconda.⁴⁰ Soon after his arrival, he established himself at Golconda primarily as a grain merchant and subsequently entering Qutb Shahi service, obtained the title of *Mir Jumla*.⁴¹ It was in 1656 that Mir Jumla threw himself under the protection of Shah Jahan who, after the successful invasion of Golconda by Aurangzeb, granted him initially the rank of 5000/5000.⁴² Mir Jumla is the best example of a noble indulging successfully in sea borne trade besides holding the reputation of an able statesman, general and diplomat, he is also known for his

38 "Muslim Mystics In an Age of Empire" published in *Indian Sufism; Since the Seventeenth Century*.

39 A. Dadvar, *Iranians in Mughal politics and Society*, Delhi, 1999, p. 342.

40 J. N. Sarkar, *The Life of Mir Jumla*, New Delhi, 1979, p.2-3.

41 He was particularly responsible for the Qutb Shahi occupation of parts of the Vijaynagar empire (Karnataka), and the Qutb Shahi Karnatak became practically his private kingdom. This was bound to excite jealousy at the Qutb Shahi court; and Mir Jumla in turned turned to the Mughals for protection.

42 His son Muhammad Amin obtained that of 2000/1000. Subsequently, he was granted the title of *Muaazzam Khan* and the rank of 6000/6000 and was appointed to the high office of *Wazir* of the Mughal empire. On the accession of Aurangzeb he was promoted to the *mansab* of 7000/7000 and was deputed to lead the army against prince Shuja in the east.

frequent business deals with European factors, to whom he even advanced loans.⁴³ In 1642-43, the English factors, are reported to have decided to borrow 4 or 5 thousand pagodas from him at Golconda at an interest of 1 ½% a month for 4 or 5 months.⁴⁴ He also lent the English in Madras 16000 *rials* of eight or twelve months gratis. Mir Jumla himself occasionally borrowed money from the English factors, apparently to financing his business enterprises.⁴⁵

He was in real sense, a merchant prince and his ships were carrying on trade between Arakans, southern India, Bengal, Persia and Arabia. By 1647, he expanded his sea-borne trade and his junks plied between Masulipatnam, Surat, Gombroon, Mokha, Peru, Pegu etc.⁴⁶ In 1651, Mir Jumla is said to have owned 400 horses, 300 elephants, 400 or 500 camels, and 10000 oxen for transporting his goods to several countries like Golconda and Bijapur and also to different parts of the Mughal empire.⁴⁷ In 1656, when Mir Jumla joined the service of Shah Jahan, he is said to have made a present to the emperor amounting to rs. 15 lakhs and other valuables including the famous *Koh-i-Nur*.⁴⁸ When he was in Mughal service, he is also said to have declared that he could maintain his entire establishment and thus supplement the expenditure sanctioned by the emperor from his own resources. Much of this opulence of Mir Jumla arose out of Mir Jumla's commercial activities. His diamonds were usually counted in sacks.⁴⁹ Thevenot says, that Mir Jumla possessed 20 mounds of diamonds.⁵⁰ He preferred selling the best diamonds to the Portugese. Dom Phelipe

43 A. Dadvar, *Op.cit.*, p.343.

44 *The English Factories In India*, ed. By W. Foster, (1642-45), pp.69,79.

45 J.N Sarkar, *Op.cit.*, p.94.

46 W.H Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, New Delhi, 1972, p.86.

47 A. Dadvar, *Op.cit.*, p.343. He had trade relations with Pegu, Tenasserm, Achin, Arakan, Perisa, Bengal, Mokha, Peruk, Maldives and Mecassar. His fleet then consisted of ten ships and he intended to build more. For this purpose he appears to have employed an Englishman Thomas Prait for Rs.500/- per month, whose duty apart from building boats, was to make ammunition for river fightings. He also possessed a large crew of sailors and navigators for his fleet, including both Muslims and Europeans.

48 Samsam-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan & his son Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, Tr. by H. Beveridge, Revised, annotated and completed by Bains Prashad, Patna, 1979, p.535. For Koh-i-Nur, see Manucci, Vol.I, pp.237-38.

49 F. Bernier, *op.ct*, p.17.

50 Jean De Thevenot, *The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, tr. and ed. By S.N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, pp.1444-145.

Massarhhnnas, the Portugese viceroy of Goa, was his friend as well as his chief customer.⁵¹ They exchanged presents. Dom Phelipe sent him several kinds of brocade and porcelain from China, together with many curiosities from Japan, and Mir Jumla sent back gems and diamonds extracted from his Golconda mines.⁵²

PUBLIC WORKS AND CHARITIES

The Mughal nobility including Iranis and Turanis appropriated a large portion of the surplus of the country and as the law of escheat forbid their desire to accumulate, they were indulging more frequently in Charity. Regarding this, K. M. Ashraf in his book, *Life and Condition of the people of Hindustan (1200-1526)* writes, “The extreme poverty of vast masses created a psychology of fear and nervousness among the rich. Generosity thus came to their aid as insurance policy.”⁵³ Thus the nobles indulged in numerous acts of public welfare activities and the best illustration in this direction is the numerous buildings of public utility created by the Irani and Turani nobles.

Qulij Khan had founded a number of *Sarais* from Multan to Lahore where there was absolutely no trace of *Sarai* and in perilous places, he had wells and step wells of water made and watch posts established.⁵⁴ Regarding Qulij Khan, Shaikh Farid writes in *Zakhirat-ul-Khawannin*, “The sacred mausoleum of his holiness *Quutubul-aqtab* Makhdum Shaikh Bahaud-din Zakaria Multani had extremely congested surroundings and in the interior of the mausoleum, the grave of *Sajjadas* (spiritual successors) had left no vacant space. Qulij Khan made a wide and high mausoleum and purchasing houses of people situated all around (and demolished them), left an open space and turned it into an agreeable and pleasing spot.”⁵⁵

Some among them constructed canals too for the benefit of general public. For instance, Shihab Khan, a Sayyid of Nishapur, during his governorship of Delhi, repaired the canal which Firuz Shah had cut from the Parganah of Khizrabad to

51 F.Bernier, *Op.cit.*, pp.17-18. Also see Manucci, *Op.cit*, Vol.I, pp. 232-33.

52 *Ibid.*

53 Ashraf, K.M., *Life and Condition of the people of Hindustan (1200-1526)*, p. 314.

54 Shaikh Farid Bhakkhari, *Op.cit.*, p.215.

55 *Ibid.*

Safidun; and called it *Nahr-i-Shihab*.⁵⁶ The canal was again repaired at the order of Shah Jahan, by the renowned Makramat Khan, and called *Fayz Nahr*.⁵⁷ Ali Mardan Khan, during his governorship of Lahore, had brought a canal of flowing water from a distance of one hundred *kroh* into the Shalemar garden and on the bank of this canal, many villages had prospered.⁵⁸ Regarding this canal, Inayat Khan writes in *ShahJahan nama*, “In these days, Ali Mardan Khan represented to His Majesty that there was an engineer in his service who possesses eminent skill in the art of constructing canals, and that he had proposed to undertake the excavation of one that would supply water to the suburbs of capital. Accordingly, one lakh of rupees, which was the sum estimated for the project was delivered over to Said Khan, whereupon the engineer commenced excavations for the canal at a point where the river flowing to Lahore break through the hills into the level country, and which is about 50 imperial *kos* distant from the city.”⁵⁹

Shaista Khan was well known for his inns and bridges built all over the country at the cost of lakh of rupees.⁶⁰ He undertook many construction projects at Dhaka. He encouraged the construction of modern townships and public works in Dhaka, leading to massive Urban and economic expansion. He encouraged the construction of majestic monuments across the province, including mosques, mausoleums and palaces. He expanded Lalbagh fort, Chowk Bazar Mosque, Saat Masjid and Choto Kutra. He also supervised the construction of the mausoleum for his daughter Bibi Pari. The Shaista Khan mosque, built by him on his palace grounds incorporate unique elements of Bengali and Mughal architecture.⁶¹ Mir Jumla constructed a great

56 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II of part,Ii, p. 846.

57 *Ain*, 1965, p. 353.

58 Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p.119. He writes, “Of the good deeds which he did during the governorship of Lahore, one was that he brought that canal of flowing water. “

59 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 262.

60 Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, tr. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1947, p.223. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. 166.

61 It is supposed to be built between 1663 and 1678, the first vicerealty of *Khan*. During the British period the mosque was seriously damaged by an accidental fire. Recently the mosque has been repaired and has lost its original look. An old inscription in Persian fixed over the doorway still stands today, declaring that Shaista Khan erected the mosque.

tank and garden at Haiderabad.⁶² Mir Khalil built a big tank called *Khalil Sagar* at Narnol.⁶³ Irij Khan built an inn or *Sarai* near Illichpur, and so on.⁶⁴

Besides, these Iranis and Turanis were by no means indifferent to arts and literature. Many among them were themselves good scholars and poets and further patronised fine arts and letters. Many nobles earned a reputation as patrons in this field. For instance, Itiqad Khan loved both poor and learned men,⁶⁵ Amir Khan Khan sent much money to the learned and pious men of Persia.⁶⁶ Muhammadd Saeed was a great patron of writers,⁶⁷ Zulfiqar Khan patronised Nasir Ali, a good poet of his days, Hussain Ali, patronised Abdul Jalil, a poet of his times.⁶⁸ Many among them dabbled in science and alchemy, for instance Danishmand khan, employed Bernier in order to discuss with him new principles of medicine.⁶⁹

In the early part of Akbar's reign Mulla Shukrullah, surnamed *Afzal Khan* patronized a large number of Persian scholars, among whom Aminai Qazvini and Jalaluddin Tabatabai were the most important.⁷⁰ Regarding Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Shah Nawaz Khan writes in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin*, "His liberality and magnanimity are proverbial in India."⁷¹ He continually, both openly and secretly, gave large sums to dervishes and to learned men and yearly sent money to

62 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, pp.530-55.

63 *Ibid*, pp.785-92.

64 *Ibid*. pp.268-72,

65 *Ibid*, Vol.I, pp.232-34.

66 *Ibid*, Vol.I, pp. 946-49.

67 *Ibid*, Vol.I, p. 272.

68 Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. 167.

69 Bernier, *Op.cit*, pp. 324-25, 352-53. Regarding Danishmand Khan, Bernier writes, "Astronomy, geography and anatomy are his favorite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of *Gassendy* and *Descartes*."

70 B.P Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, Allahabad, 1962, p.249.

71 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.62. "Some extra ordinary stories are told of him. They say that one day he was signing *barats* (orders on the Treasury). On the warrant (*barat*) for a foot-soldier (*piada*) he had signed for a thousand rupees instead of for a thousand *tankas* (*pice*), and he did not alter it. He several times weighed poets against gold when giving a present. One day Mulla Naziri said, "The Khan-Khanan ordered the amount to be brought from the treasury. When they had brought it together, the Mulla said: "Thank God that by means of my Nawab I have seen so much coin." He ordered all to be given to the Mulla, so that he might now thanks to God."

people at a distance.⁷² Ghazi Beg Tarkhan was very famous for patronising poets, for instance poets like Talibi of Amul, Mulla Murshid-i-Yazdjirdi, Mir Ni ‘matullah Vacili, Mulla Asad Qissa Khwan and especially Fughfuri of Gilan enjoyed his liberality.⁷³ Nur Jahan too was very generous in rewards and charity.⁷⁴ Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* is said to have become attracted to Khwaja Baqi Billah though he was never able to pay a visit to him. It is said that once he was informed of the fact that the Khwaja and some of his disciples intended to go on pilgrimage. *Khan-i-Khanan* accordingly sent a lac of rupees to cover the travelling expenses of the Khwaja and his disciples.⁷⁵ Some Mughal nobles were devoted to Khwaja Baqi billah, a Naqshbandi Saint and used to send him money for the expenses of his *Khanqah* and for the distribution amongst the poor and the deserving ones.⁷⁶ Baqi Billah, despite his detachment from the worldly affairs had assumed this responsibility on account of his affection towards them. The offers of his wealthy disciples, keen to make provisions for the saints of his *Khanqah*, were not generally accepted for those who had obtained high spiritual status but were accepted for the lesser fry. It appears that the distribution of charities to the needy and destitute of Delhi and Sirhind was officially entrusted to him.⁷⁷

CULTURAL SYNTHESIS BROUGHT BY IRANIS AND TURANIS

Iranis and Turanis not only brought their families to India, but also many traditions and customs of Central Asia and Iran which led Indian society towards a composite culture. They assimilate themselves in the local environment. Every aspect of their

72 *Ibid.*

73 *Ain*, p.392.

74 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1078. “It is stated that on the days when she went to the baths, her fixed expenditure was Rs. 3,000. She had collected in the palace numerous female servants aged from twelve to forty, and she married them to *Ahadis* (gentleman troopers) and *chelas* (pages). But though women are possessed of many charming qualities, yet in essence of their natures they are beings who have been created with a defective understanding.”

75 Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India; In The Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 192. However the Khwaja declined saying he was not in favor of making the pilgrimage on the strength of money collected from Muslims.

76 S.A.A Rizvi, *Op.cit.*, p. 193

77 *Ibid.*

life affected the local culture. In Mughal India, they made contributions to Mughal painting, architecture, literature, music etc.

Mughal Painting was a significant art form which was influenced by the Iranian traditions and is deeply indebted to the contributions of Iranis and Turanis. During the exile period of Humayun in Persia, he came in touch with Persian nobles and other endowed artists whom he invited to join him which led to the migration of many Iranis to the Mughal court. Commenting on the exile of Humayun, Som Prakash Verma in his paper entitled 'Illustrations of Persian classics in Persian and Imperial Mughal Painting' writes, "This exile laid the foundations of Mughal style in which Indian elements would blend harmoniously with the traditions of Persia and Central Asia." Persian painters who served Humayun were namely, Dost Musawwir, Maulana Yusuf, Maulana Dervish Muhammad, Mir Musawwir or Mir Mansur, Mir Saiyid Ali and Khwaja Abd-al-Samad, who greatly contributed to the evolution of the Persianized School of Indian art which matured as the Mughal School of Art.⁷⁸ Abd-al Samad instructed both Humayun and his young son, the future Emperor Akbar, in the art of painting. Humayun gave him the title of *Shirin-Qalam* or sweat-pen.⁷⁹ Among his students, while he was superintendent of Akbar's atelier, were Dasvant and Basavan, who became two of the most renowned Mughal painters.⁸⁰ Similarly, his son Sharif Farisi was also unrivalled in the beauty of his art of painting. Regarding him, Som Prakash further writes, "Sharif Farisi distinguished himself in a similar art by boring eight small holes in one poppy seed and then passing wires through them; he also drew on a grain of rice, a picture of an armed horseman, preceded by an outsider and bearing all the things proper to a horseman such as a sword, a shield, a polo stick, etc. While his father, Abdus Samad was also famous for writing in a full and legible hand on one side of a poppy seed the *Surat-ul-Ikhlās* and the other side of it the argument of the chapter."⁸¹

78 Som Prakash Verma, 'Illustrations of Persian Classics in Persian and Imperial Mughal Painting', published in *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture*, Delhi, 2000, p.223.

79 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p. 114. ' Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee of the court, his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is a spirit.'

80 *Ibid*, p. 114. From the instruction they received, the Khwaja's pupils became masters.

81 *Ain*, p.554.

The Mughal School of painting which owed so much to Persia and Central Asia blossomed under Akbar's liberal patronage. Regarding Mughal painting, V.A Smith in his book *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* writes, "The Mughal Emperors of India looked to Iran for the graces of civilization, and it was natural that Akbar should desire to add the charms of Persian Pictorial art to the amenities of his court."⁸² Under Jahangir too, Irani painters like Aqa Riza, Abul Hasan, Ustad Mansur played a distinguishing role in the flourishment of portrait and miniature painting. Abul Hasan was awarded the title of *Nadir-uz-zaman* and was also praised by Jahangir.⁸³ Mansur was a leading member of Jahangir's studio of Mughal painters and was singled out as a painter of animals and birds. He was honoured with the title of *Nadir-ul-Asr* (the wonder of the time), and in his memoirs, Jahangir praises Mansur as 'unique in his generation' in the art of drawing.⁸⁴ Mansur made many studies of natural life under the direct orders of Jahangir, who was passionately fond of recording the rare specimens that were brought before him. In 1612 A.D. on the instructions of Jahangir, Ustad Mansur painted a turkey cock which marks that bird's first appearance in India. Similarly, when on a trip to the Kashmir valley, Jahangir ordered Mansur to paint as many varieties of local flowers as possible, stating in his memoirs that the number depicted exceeded hundred.⁸⁵

The presence of Iranis and Turanis in the Mughal court also led to the efflorescence of Persian language and literature in Mughal India. By the time, Babur came to Hindustan, the day-to-day working of the Lodhi administration was carried on through the medium of Persian, which created an ever increasing demand for personnel possessing proficiency in Persian for manning minor positions in the administration. Therefore, the coming of these Iranis and Turanis to India was even encouraged by the Mughal emperors. Under Babur, it were Shaikh Zain Khwafi, Khwandamir and Mir Abdul Hayee who played an important role in the literary activities. The *Fath-nama* by Shaikh Zain Khwafi in Persian after the battle of

82 V.A Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Bombay: D.B Taraporevala Sons & Company, 1962., p.168.

83 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.20.

84 *Ibid*, p.108.

85 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p.145.

Khanwa (1527) is reproduced in *Babur-nama*.⁸⁶ He later expanded this document in his *Tabaqat-i-Baburi*, which was also the first attempt to prepare a Persian version of Babur's memoirs.⁸⁷ Khwandamir's main contribution in India was the great historical work *Habib-al-Siyar* and he was also the author of *Akhlaq*, *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, *Khulasat-ul-Akhbar* and *Muntakhab-i-Tarikh-i-Wasaf*. He continued the Perso-Islamic style of writing history and got the title of "Amir-i-Akhbar" from Humayun.⁸⁸

Besides, there were others like Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini, Regarding whom, H. Blochmann writes, "He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of *Sulh-i-kull*, "peace with all", the Persian term which Abul Fazl so often uses to describe Akbar's policy of toleration."⁸⁹ *Nafais-ul-Maasir*, which is regarded as a standard work of literary activities during Humayun's reign was written by Mir Alauddaulah.⁹⁰ Muhammad Asghar Ashraf Khan who was well versed in the seven different styles of penmanship and was well qualified to instruct the best calligraphers of the world. He was perhaps the first of his age to write *talīq* and *nastaliq* characters and was well versed in *Ilm-e-Jafar* (witchcraft).⁹¹ Humayun's *dabir* (munshi) named Yousuf Bin Muhammad Haravi was also a reputed scholar as he wrote some books i.e. *Riaz-ul-Insha*, *Jama-i-Al-Fawaid-i-Yousafi* (a book on medicine), *Bada-ul-Ansha*. Humayun's court was also decorated by the talented duo, Mir Abdul Hayi of Persia and his brother Mir Abdullah.⁹² Mir Abdul Hayi was an expert of writing *Baburi* script style and it is said that nobody had learnt to write in the complicated *Baburi* style more

86 Babur, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, pp. 559-574.

87 Syed Hasan Askari who has translated *Tabaqat-i-Baburi* writes that Shaikh Zain was a scholar and a master of elegant prose and poetical style who assumed the pen-name of Wafai. Shaikh Zain was also a florid writer of highly ornate rhetorical, pompous prose, over ridden so much with metrical compositions as to make his writings a tedious reading.

88 Muhammad Ziauddin, *Role of Persians at the Mughal Court: A Historical Study During 1526 A.D. to 1707 A.D.*, Pakistan Research Repository, p. 165.

89 *Ain*, p. 497. See footnote no.2.

90 *Ibid*, p. 496.

91 *Ibid*.

92 Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, Vol.III, translated and edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, pp. 378,379,380. Mir Abdul Hayy was an expert in writing the Baburi hand, which was invented by the emperor Babur, who sent to the honoured city of Makkah a copy of the quran written in that hand of which no trace now remains. He was *sadr* of Humayun.

quickly or better than him.⁹³ His brother Mir Abdullah was a jurist and one of Humayun's intimate and specially honoured confidants.⁹⁴

The court of Akbar was decorated by many Irani and Turani literati like Mulla Said Samarqandi,⁹⁵ Mulla Sadiq Halwai Samarqandi,⁹⁶ Mirzada Muflis Samarqandi,⁹⁷ Hafiz Tashkandi,⁹⁸ Mulla Muhammad Yazdi,⁹⁹ Mulla Shaikh Hasan Tabrizi,¹⁰⁰ Mulla Khwaja Ali Mawara-un-nahri,¹⁰¹ Qazi Ghazanafar Samarqandi,¹⁰² Mulla Alam Gulabhari Kabuli,¹⁰³ Qazi Nur Allah Shushtari,¹⁰⁴ Qazi Hasan Qazwini,¹⁰⁵ Qasim Beg Tabrizi,¹⁰⁶ Mulla Qasim Wahid-ul-Ain Qandahari,¹⁰⁷ Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani,

93 *Ibid*, p. 378.

94 *Ibid*. both brothers were endowed with piety, sanctity, and regularity of life.

95 Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, *The Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, tr.by Brajendranath De, 1936, rpt, 1996, p. 685. He came to India in 970 A.H. and was distinguished by imperial favours. He was one of the very wise men of his age.

96 *Ibid*, p. 686. "He came from Mecca and entered the Emperor's service. After staying for some years in Hindustan he went to Kabul, and for some years was employed there in teaching; and gave lessons to Mirza Muhammad Hakim; and is now at Samarqand."

97 *Ibid*, p. 686. "He came to India in the year 979 A.H. and was engaged for three years in giving lessons in the Madrasa of Khwaja Muin; and then went to Mecca and was buried there."

98 *Ibid*. "He was celebrated in Mawara-un-nahr as *Hafiz-i-Kumki*. He is one of the deeply learned men of Mawara-un-nahr; and was distinguished above men of his class in ratiocinative and traditional sciences. He came to Hindustan in the year 977 A.H. and was exalted by imperial favours. He took the expenses of the journey to Mecca and undertook voyage to the *Hijaz*."

99 *Ibid*, p.687. "He was one of the accomplished pupils of Mulla Mirza Jan, and was distinguished above his contemporaries in ratiocinative sciences; and knew history very well. He came from Shiraz in the year 984 A.H. and was distinguished with royal favour."

100 *Ibid*, p. 689.

101 *Ibid*, p. 691.

102 *Ibid*, p. 691. He was a *Saiyyad* and a wise man adorned with various excellences. He was the chief *qazi* of the country of Gujrat for some years and went away to Mecca from there.

103 *Ibid*, p. 693. He is a man of pleasant disposition and is cheerful and unrestrained. He wrote poetry and wrote a book of biography containing accounts of rulers and learned men and poets and called it the *Fawaeh-ul-vilayat*.

104 *Ibid*, p. 697. He is possessed of integrity and honesty and learning and perfection.

105 *Ibid*, p. 695.

106 *Ibid*, p. 696. He is distinguished for knowledge and is included in the rank of *amirs*.

107 *Ibid*, p. 697. He give lessons in ratio-cinative and traditional learning.

Fatehullah Shirazi and Mir Murtaza Shirazi.¹⁰⁸ With the help of Persian scholars, Akbar introduced important changes in the syllabi followed in the educational institutions. Akbar took interest in the scientific educational disciplines such as geometry, astronomy, accountancy, public administration, arithmetic, medicine, history and even agriculture. Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani and Fatehullah Shirazi¹⁰⁹ along with Abul Fazl and some other intellectuals became the pioneer of new educational policy during Akbar's regime. Irfan Habib writes in his book *Akbar and his India* that Fathullah Shirazi along with Abul Fazl help Akbar to introduce more scientific syllabi in the schools and more effective techniques in technology and to initiate discussions on scientific theories.¹¹⁰ Mulla Qazi Nurullah of Shustar, was well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of heart, clearness of perception, and acumen. Badauni writes; "He is distinguished for his justice, virtue, modesty, piety, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men. He wrote several good works and also a monograph on the un-dotted commentary of Shaikh Faizi which was beyond all praise. He also possessed poetic facility and wrote impressive poetry."¹¹¹ Shaikh Hasan Ali of Mausil was a faithful disciple of Shaikh Fathullah Shirazi. He joined the service of Akbar and was given the charge of Prince Salim's (Jahangir's) initial education until the young prince could repeat certain lessons from Persian and other treatises on philosophy.¹¹²

Mulla Ghani, Amani of Herat possessed both learning and accomplishments and was a man of education. He belonged to the intimate circle of Akbar and was one of the

108 *Ibid*, pp. 684-698.

109 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 543. Adil Shah of Bijapur by a thousand efforts brought him from Shiraz to the Deccan and made him his Prime minister (*vakil-i-matlaq*). After Adil Shah's days were ended, Fathullah came in the 28th year, 1583, by the summons of Akbar to Fathpur. The *Khan-i-Khanan* and Hakim Abul-Fath received him and introduced him. He was treated with royal favours and in a short time was made an intimate companion.

110 Irfan Habib, *Akbar and his India*, Delhi, 1997, p. 128.

111 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, pp.193,194. He was introduced to the emperor by the instrumentality of the physician Abul Fath.

112 *Ibid*, pp.192,193. He was the faithful servant of Shah Fathullah but notwithstanding this he is an orthodox sunni. He entered the imperial service in the year when Kabul was conquered. Even Mirza Nizamu-d-din Ahmad and his son Muhammad Sharif received much profitable instruction from him in those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty and in secular learning, so much so indeed, that they advanced to perfection there in. Later on he went back to his own home country.

most entertaining men of his times.¹¹³ Talia of Yazd was a pen-man who wrote *nastaliq* well.¹¹⁴ Ulfati of Yazd was also well skilled in the exact sciences and received one thousand rupees from the Khan-i-Zaman for composing a couplet.¹¹⁵ Mir Waiz Wuqui of Herat who originally belonged to Badakhshan was famous for his preaching and held stirring meetings for preaching.¹¹⁶

Some of the best poets under Akbar, were indeed Ghazali, Naziri, Urfi and Zahuri.¹¹⁷ Ghazali was called by Khan Zaman to Jaunpur,¹¹⁸ and later on, he joined the court and was much liked by Akbar, who conferred on him the title of *Malik us Shuara* (poet Laureate).¹¹⁹ Badauni writes that the poet had compiled several *diwan* and a book of *masnavis*.¹²⁰ Muhammad Husayn Naziri whose patron was Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan,¹²¹ wrote a collection of *ghazals* of exceptional merit.¹²² Regarding him Badauni writes, "In graceful wit and clearness of intellect he is the equal of Shikibi of Isfahan."¹²³ Regarding his poetical talent, Jahangir mentions in *Tuzuk* as

113 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p. 262. He came from Bukhara, and was for a long time in the emperor's service and was for some time news writer. He wrote good prose and compiled a *diwan*. He also wrote a *masnavi*, a *shahr-ashub*.

114 *Ibid*, p. 368. His business was that of a book-seller in Agra.

115 *Ibid*, p. 264. He was a companion of *Khan-i-Zaman*, and was captured in his rebellion. The Emperor spared his life, but death, less merciful, took it from him,

116 Badauni, p. 519. He was originally known as *Mir Waiz* (the preacher) and was a native of Badakhshan.

117 All were Iranis.

118 Ghazali left his homeland Mashhad, during the reign of Shah Tahmasp and fled from Iran to Dakhin, because people wished to kill him for his heretical tendencies.

119 *Ibid.*, pp. 239,240.

120 *Ibid.*, p. 240. It is said that he had written no fewer than forty or fifty thousand couplets. Although his compositions do not rank very high, yet those of any of his contemporaries. Yet his poems, as regards both quality and quantity, are superior to those of any of his contemporaries. He had great facility of expression in the language of mystics. He died very suddenly in Ahmedabad and his Majesty ordered that he should be buried in Sarkhej, the resting place of many of the great saints and famous kings of the old.

121 Muhammad Husayn Naziri of Nishapur left his home for Kashan, and after some time he went to India, where he found a patron in Mirza Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*.

122 *Ibidi*, p. 508, footnote 1. In 1603-4, he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India, he lived at Ahmedabad in Gujrart, where he died in 1613.

123 *Ibid.*

“who excelled other men in the art of poetry, and passed his time in Gujrat as a merchant.”¹²⁴

Urfi¹²⁵ had to his credit a collection of poems and a *masnavi* written in the meter of the *Makhzan-ul-Asrar*.¹²⁶ His masnavi entitled *Majma-ul-Akbar* was often called *Majma-ul-afkar*.¹²⁷ Zuhuri was the pen name of Mulla Nur-ud-Din, who was styled as Mir Muhammad Tahir Zuhuri.¹²⁸ Badauni writes that he was a master of poetical style and composed a *divan*.¹²⁹ Besides these, there were some lesser known talented poets like Sarmadi of Isfahan, Mir Sharif Amani of Isfahan, Huzni of Isfahan, Shu'uri of Turbat, Humayun Quli of Gilan and his sons Hakim Najati and Hakim Zambil. Liwai of Sabzwar, Musawwir of Mashhad, Mir Muhsin Rizvi of Mashhad, Shaikh Haji Muhammad of Khabushan, Naui and others were also known poets.¹³⁰

Under Jahangir, the most outstanding contribution in literary activities was made by Baqi Nihawandi as he wrote *Maasir-i-Rahimi*.¹³¹ It is a detailed account of contemporary poets, philosophers, physicians, men of letters, calligraphists, military officers under the command of Khan-i-Khanan. Persian poetry too blossomed under

124 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p. 188. “At this time he came and waited on me, and imitating a poem of *Anwari*, laid before me a poem that he had composed on me. I presented him with 1,000 rupees, a horse and a robe of honour as a gift for this poem.”

125 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, p.392. Maulana Jamal-ud-Din Muhammad poetically surnamed Urfi, was a native of Shiraz where his father held a high rank in government service. On his arrival in India, he first met with Faizi at Fathpur, and then he sought the patronage of Hakim Abul Fath. After the death of Hakim Abul Fath, he attached himself to Khan-i-Khanan.

126 ‘Treasury of secrets’.

127 He died at the young age of 36, and was buried at Lahore but later on, his corpse was removed to Najaf and was reburied there.

128 Badauni, *Op.cit.*, pp.372,373. He belongs to Khujand, a small town in Khorasan. He first settled in Ahmadnagar, Deccan, where the poet laureate of the court, Malik Qom became a great admirer of Zuhuri and gave him his daughter in marriage. When Faizi went on deputation to Ahmadnagar, he strongly commended him to Akbar’s notice, in a special letter which he wrote from Deccan.

129 *Ibid*. “It is now reported that the unruly *Dakanis*, following their detestable habit of murdering foreigners, have, in a recent riot, put these two poor innocent men to death.”

130 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*,

131 He started the work in 1614 and finished in 1616.

him and the most prominent Persian poets were Bab Talib Isfahani,¹³² Fasuni Kashi, *Malak-ush-Shu'ara* (poet laureate) Talib-i-Amuli, Mir Masum Kashi, Mulla Ziyai Gilani, Muhammad Sufi Mazandarani, Mulla Haider Khasali, Mulla Naziri Nishapuri, Talib Isfahani, Kalim Kashani, Shaida, Mulla Hayati Gilani and Haj Muhammad Jan Qudsi Mashhadi, who were more prominent than others.¹³³

Under Shah Jahan, the best poets were those who came from Persia and Central Asia. The prominent under him were Abul Talib Kalim,¹³⁴ Hakim Rukunuddin¹³⁵, Hasan Beg,¹³⁶ Mulla Ali Raza Shirazi,¹³⁷ Mir Muhammad Ali¹³⁸. Abul Talib Kalim's¹³⁹ *diwan* (collection) consists of *qasidas* mostly addressed to Shah Jahan, *masnavis* describing the buildings erected by him, and a *Saqi- Nama* composed for Zafar Khan, Governor of Kashmir.¹⁴⁰ He also versified famous *Padshahnama*.

132 Badauni, p. 367. He had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmir, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed Kashmir, he came to Hindustan where he was much liked. He was often in the company of Hakim Abul Fath, Zain Khan Koka, Abul Fazl and Shaikh Faizi and was in 1616, *Sadr* of Gujrat.

133 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p. 180.

134 Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama (1592-1638), Vol.I*, translated by Dr. Hamid Afaq Siddiqi, 2010,

135 *Ibid*, p.297. Hakim Rukunuddin, surnamed *Masih*, was a native of Kashan. He was in the service of Shah Abbas-I, but feeling offended by him came to India, where he found favour with Jahangir as well as Shah Jahan. Afterwards, he returned to Persia and died there in 1656 A.D.

136 Hasan Beg wrote under the pen-name of *Rafi*. He repaired from Mashhad to Bukhara, where Nazr Muhammad Khan employed him as writer of *Farmans* or orders. He came to India about in 1645 A.D. and attached the notice of Shah Jahan. He was not a professional poet but possessed a rich and flowing style, and whenever he presented his compositions to the Emperor, he received abundant praise.

137 During Shah Jahan's reign a very famous poet Mulla Ali Reza Shirazi whose pen-name was *Tajalli* came to India.

138 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, 184. The greatest poet of that period, who is credited with having invented a new style, was Mirza Muhammad Ali, poetically surnamed *Sai'b*. He was for a long time at Kabul, where he enjoyed the patronage of Zafar Khan. He was favorably received by Shah Jahan, who conferred on him the title of Musta'id Khan. He did not, however, stay at the Court, but accompanied his original patron, Zafar Khan

139 Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama (1592-1638), Vol.I*, translated by Dr. Hamid Afaq Siddiqi, 2010, p.297. Abul Talib Kalim belonged to Kashan but was brought up in Hamadan. He came to India in the reign of Jahangir, and was patronized by Mir Jumla, also called *Ruh-ul-Amin*. He entered the imperial service after the accession of Shah Jahan who in recognition of his merits bestowed on him the highest honor.

140 *The Shah Jahan Nama of Inayat Khan; An Abridged History of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan*, compiled by his royal Librarian, edited and compiled by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, 1990, pp.57, 92, 94, 188.

These Iranis and Turanis also played an important role in the development of regional language and literature. For instance, Mirza Jafar Beg Qazvini, an immigrant poet in Bengal, during Akbar's rule, compiled a *masnavi*, titled *Shirin-o-Khusrau*, in the style of Nizami Ganjawi, a renowned poet of Persian.¹⁴¹ Mirza Nathan, a petty military officer, wrote *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* which contains references to numerous soldier poets such as Luqman, Mir Qasim and Malik Mubarak, who accompanied the army and composed poems commemorating the victories and achievements of soldiers in the battle field. Shahabuddin Taalish, a chronicle of Mir jumla, who accompanied his master on his military campaigns in Coochbihar and Assam, compiled an authentic account of Assam entitled *Fath-i-Ibriya* in 1663 A.D. Moreover, in the south, in the court of Adil Shahis of Bijapur, the Qutb Shahis of Golconda many Iranis were appointed who played an important role in the development of Indo-Persian and Deccani literature. The prominent example of lingual fusion is the emergence of Urdu language. This language emerged as a result of interaction of Persian language and culture brought by Iranis with Hindi. Thus through Urdu, and through Persian, the idea of belonging to a common culture prospered.

Mughal rulers had greatly lauded the Irani and Turani musicians, for instance, Babur had great praise for the musicians of Herat and left a detailed account of the performers of *nay*, and *ghichak*.¹⁴² Humayun had also brought many artists, musicians from Herat and Akbar too patronised musicians and singers from different regions and countries on a large scale. They were Indians, Iranians, Turanians, both men and women.¹⁴³ Abul Fazl had enlisted thirty six imperial musicians. Many of them were from Central Asia and Iran.¹⁴⁴ Thus the Persian musical tradition harmonised closely with the local tradition and as time passed, it absorbed amongst those of local Indian tradition.

141 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, pp.453, 643. Mirza Jafar, like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the *takhallus* (Jafar). He, Zahid Khan Koka and M. Shafi were such intimate friends that Shah Jahan dubbed them *sih yar*. He was fortunate to obtain the title of *Asaf Khan*.

142 Babur, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.256.

143 *Ain*, p.681.

144 *Ibid*.

Iranis and Turanis had great impact on the religious life of Mughal India and the best manifestation of this is the impact of Ithna Ashariyah-ism and the spread of Naqshbandiya doctrines in Mughal India. As Babur had a very few Persian nobility in his administration, he neither faced any sort of Ithna Ashariyah-Sunni controversy in India, nor there was any pondering role of Persians in the religious life of Mughal India. It was Emperor Humayun's stay in Persia, that many Ithna Ashari Persians joined his service. The reign of Akbar appears to have favoured the emergence of a community of Ithna Ashariyah Muslims in Mughal India in the sixteenth century A.D. Under him, the ithna Asharis could be trusted in any position except in fighting against Persia. Even the early tutors of Akbar, i.e. Bairam Khan and Abdul Latif, the Ithna Ashari nobles made Akbar open to views that came from sources outside the orthodox Sunni tradition to which his family subscribed. Moreover, during Akbar's regime, some important socio-religious Persian traditions like the festival of *Nouroz* and the act of prostration (*sijda*) to the king penetrated into the Mughal court. Under Jahangir and Shah Jahan too, the Ithna Ashariism holds an important place and the Ithna-Ashariism nobles were the prominent section of the Mughal nobility. Under Aurangzeb, though political considerations and previous traditions led him to employ Ithna Asharis both of Persia and Central Asia but lot of Ithna Asharis were not happy and anti Ithna Ashariyah feeling became very strong. Though Aurangzeb disbelieved them, yet he employed them for their skill in book-keeping and accountancy. Sunnis also hated them and inter-marriages did not heal this Ithna Ashariyah-Sunni conflict.¹⁴⁵

Some of the Irani and Turani nobles were the followers of Naqshbandi saints and thus helped in the dissemination of its doctrines. For instance, Sheikh Farid Bukhari came in close contact with Khwaja Baqi billah during his visits to Lahore and Delhi. The small collection of Baqi Billah's letters contains several letters addressed to Shaikh Farid Bukhari, which accounted for the existence of a common belief among the people that the popularity of Khwaja Baqi billah depended upon Shaikh Farid.¹⁴⁶ Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* is also said to have become attracted to Khwaja though

145 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p.333.

146 S.A.A Rizvi, *Op.cit.*, p.192.

he was never able to pay a visit to him.¹⁴⁷ Khwaja Husam ud Din Ahmad, an eminent disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah, was the son of Qazi Nizam of Badakhshan, who had migrated from his native land to India in 1574.¹⁴⁸ Commenting on him, Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, “Khwaja Husam-ud-Din attained to the rank of 1000 and was attached with Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* in the Deccan, but he became so much enamoured of the ascetic way of life that neither the *mansab* nor his matrimonial relations with the sister of Shaikh Abul Fazl, the most important grandee of Akbar’s reign and the persuasions of Abdur Rahim could restrain him from abandoning worldly pursuits and adopting the calling of a *Shaikh*.”¹⁴⁹ He started wandering the streets and bazaars, and stripping himself naked, besmeared his body with mud. When the incident was reported to the Emperor, he was allowed to retire to Delhi.¹⁵⁰ He was admitted by Baqi Billah to the fold of his disciples as Abul Fazl further writes that Khwaja Baqi Billah conferred on him power of “guiding travellers on the road of piety”.¹⁵¹ He was profoundly devoted to his preceptor and served him very loyally at his death-bed. He also brought up and educated the two sons of his preceptor, Khwaja Ubaidullah and Khwaja Abdullah. He preferred an ascetic way of life and did not generally mix with people; but if they would approach him to intercede on their behalf with some noble or the other he would recommend them to the authorities concerned. He was not contemptuous of the nobles and the rich.¹⁵²

Besides these Iranis and Turanis in India also erected beautiful master pieces of architecture. For instance, When Babur marched into India, he brought with him two Iranians architects, Ustad Mir Mirak Ghiyas of Herat and Ustad Shah Muhammad of Khurasan.¹⁵³ Mir Ghiyas Mirak was the architect of Humayun’s tomb, the first imperial Mughal mausoleum in India.¹⁵⁴ Mirr Ghiyas Beg was according to Percy Brown, “almost certainly of Persian origin, Humayun’s tomb stands as an example of

147 *Ibid.*

148 *Ain*, p.488.

149 *Ibid.* He live as a *faqir* at the tomb of Nizam ud-Din Awliya in Delhi.

150 Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *op.ct.*, pp.242-243.

151 Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p.488.

152 S.A.A Rizvi, *Op.cit.*, p.194-195.

153 Babur, *Op.cit.*, pp.343,642.

154 *A Shared Heritage; The growth of Civilizations In India & Iran*, ed. by Irfan Habib, India, 2002, rpt.2012, p.139.

the synthesis of two of the great building styles of Asia; the Persian and Indian.”¹⁵⁵ With the construction of Humayun’s tomb, the Persian style in fact established in India. The Persian character is clearly evident in the plan as well as in the elevation of the building. Regarding the architectural tradition of Humayun’s tomb, Percy Brown in her book *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)* writes, “It represents an Indian interpretation of a Persian conception.”¹⁵⁶

Under Jahangir, it was Nur Jahan who made enduring contributions to the history of Mughal architecture. She built a dome for Emperor Jahangir, the most notable monument of Jahangir’s reign. She also constructed the tomb of her father Itimad-ud-Daulah, which represents the pure Persian element dominating in Mughal art of architecture and rightly marks the stage when Persian influence at the Mughal court was at its zenith. Nur Jahan began the construction of her father’s tomb in a garden along the bank of Yamuna at Agra, which is the finest architectural gem of Jahangir’s reign. It was completed in 1628 A.D.¹⁵⁷ and took six years to complete the tomb and 1.35 million rupees to expense for it. This tomb was the first example of the use of white marble facing, and technically said to be ahead of even the construction of Taj Mahal. This tomb has been described as ‘jewel-box’.¹⁵⁸ Nur Jahan is also associated with gardens, for instance she made certain alterations to Ram Bagh and afterwards it became famous as Nur Afshan Bagh.¹⁵⁹ Jahangir called it Gul Afshan Bagh when he visited there first time in 1619 A.D. and rewarded an honorary title to its Persian keeper Dost Muhammad as ‘Khwaja Jahan.’ Mentioning his visit to the garden, Jahangir writes in his *Tuzuk*, “On Wednesday, together with ladies in a boat, I went to the Nur-Afshan garden, and rested there at night; as the garden belongs to the establishment of Nur Jahan Begum.”¹⁶⁰

In the court of Shah Jahan, with the increased influence of the Persian nobility like Asaf Khan and Ali Mardan Khan and many others; architectural traditions were

155 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)*, 2013, pp. 92-93.

156 *Ibid*, p.97.

157 M. Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p.290.

158 *Ibid*.

159 Babur built a garden at Agra which was named Ram Bagh, but Jahangir gave it as a present to his Empress Nur Jahan.

160 Nooruddin Muhammad Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, p.199

bound to be affected profoundly. It was chiefly due to this and many other contributively factors that the Mughal architecture continued to be replenished by the traditions transmitted from Persia. The tomb of Asaf Khan¹⁶¹ and Ali Mardan Khan¹⁶² at Lahore were built in 1641-45 A.D. and 1656 A.D. respectively, which are the outstanding and prominent specimens of typical Persian type of double dome style construction. The design and execution of these tombs indicates that it was the production of men accustomed to working in brick masonry, and in a method implying wholesome Persian influence.¹⁶³

The Taj Mahal, being one of the Shah Jahan's largest project, was built in the memory of Mumtaz Mahal, the beloved Persian wife of Shah Jahan who died in child birth. Commenting on the time and expenses incurred on building this monument, Inayat Khan writes in *Shah Jahannama*, "Taj Mahal had been erected in the course of twelve years, and 50 lakhs Rupees were expended by the skilful and experienced architects in completing this magnificent mausoleum."¹⁶⁴ Many names have figured as designers and craftsmen at the Taj Mahal. According to Richard Foltz it was designed by a Turani architect named Muhammad Sharif Samarqandi and its head sculptor was Ata Muhammad from Bukhara.¹⁶⁵ Sir Jadunath Sarkar is of the opinion that "at least two of the chief designers of the Taj Mahal were Persians." He also writes that Amanat Khan Shirazi as writer of the *Tughra* inscription and Ustad Isa as mason, were the Persian master-artisans who were employed in Taj Mahal's construction.¹⁶⁶ In view of Jadunath Sarkar's statement and the majority of other contemporary chronicles, the Persian Ustad Isa Ahmad can be credited with much of the responsibility of the construction of Taj Mahal.

Moreover, the tomb of Qandhari Mahal, who was one of the wives of Shah Jahan and daughter of Mirza Muzaffar Hussain Safawi, is an imperative example of Persian

161 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p.282.

162 *Ibid*, p.542.

163 Percy Brown, *Op.cit.*, p.97.

164 Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, pp.74, 299.

165 Richards C. Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998, p.88.

166 J.N Sarkar, (Sir.), *Studies in Mughal India*, New Delhi: Advent Books Division, 1989., p.30.

architecture and is situated at Agra.¹⁶⁷ Similarly Chini Ka Rouza (china Tomb) is believed to be the tomb of Afzal Khan, a Persian who served as minister to Shah Jahan, bears a pure Persian influence in the shape of the tomb, and its tile work, too, is Persian in both design and technique.¹⁶⁸ The Moti Masjid (Pearl mosque), situated within the Agra fort, is said to have been erected by Ali Mardan Khan, who was one of the favourites of Shah Jahan. It is built of black and white marble and entails an expense of sixteen lakhs of rupees.

In imitation of the Mughal Emperors, Irani nobles too showed their love for gardens and took part in laying them out. After his victory over the Gujratis, the *khankhanan* ‘Abdur Rahim built the Fathbagh, ‘Victory Park’, in Ahmadabad. He also adorned his long time residence ‘Burhanpur’ with a number of gardens to which even the general public were allowed access, which was very unusual.¹⁶⁹ Kashmir was the ideal location for Mughal gardens. Shalamar Garden, the best example of Persian style garden architecture was planned and built by well known Iranian architects Ali Mardan Khan and Mulla Ala ul Mulk Tuni on the directions of Shah Jahan in 1642 A.D. Similarly Chashma Shahi Bagh, built on the directions of Shah Jahan in 1632 A.D., is attributed to Ali Mardan Khan. Nishat Bagh was built at Srinagar by Asaf Khan, the Mughal governor of Kashmir.¹⁷⁰ Zafarabad Garden created by Zafar Khan, an excellent governor of Kashmir who was married to one of Mumtaz Mahal’s nieces.¹⁷¹

Some among them also indulged in building *hammams*, in their cities of residence, which were often of considerable architectonic beauty. Asaf Khan, Jahangir’s brother-in-law, had a very beautiful bathing facility built in Agra; and the one built by *Khankhanan* ‘Abdur Rahim in Burhanpur is very famous.¹⁷² They also indulged in building caravansaries, such as one established by the *Khankhanan* Abdur Rahim

167 Ziauddin, *Op.cit.*, p.296.

168 *Ibid.*

169 A. Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals; History, Art & Culture*, New Delhi, 2005, p.295.

170 *Ibid*, p.295.

171 *Ibid*, p.297.

172 Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture; An Outline of its History and Development, 1526-1858*, Prestel, 1991, p.16.

between Burhanpur and Asirgarh, with its elegant pointed bow construction.¹⁷³ Bridges were also being built by them to improve connectivity between important cities and the one significant bridge was constructed in Jaunpur during Akbar's time by his *Khankhanan* Munim Khan in 1569.

Thus from above, it becomes amply clear that the constant flow of Iranis and Turanis in the 16th and 17th centuries in India and the patronage provided to them by the Mughal Emperors leads to the flourishing of cultural activities in India resulting in the further development of Indo-Persian culture. Through their high standard of living, they influenced other social groups of Mughal nobility who also tried to imitate some aspects of their life style. Some among them had big mansions, maintained large harems and had a luxurious and opulent lifestyle and on the contrary, some were living a simple life. They use their socio-economic influence to rise in the political hierarchy and also use their influence to strengthen the Mughal foothold in India. After settling in India, they engaged themselves in public welfare activities and gave charities, thus establishing contacts with the general masses and worked for their welfare. Besides, they also made immense contribution in the development of Persian language and literature, Mughal paintings, art and architecture, music and thus led Indian society towards composite culture.

173 Jahangir, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, pp.73,74.

CONCLUSION

The history of cultural relations of India with Iran and Turan goes back to ancient period, but during the sultanate period, the Iranis and Turanis not only migrated to India as merchants, *Sufis*, historians, poets and musicians but they entered India as rulers and army men. It is evident that from Balban's period onwards, most of the Sultans followed Iranian Sassanid theory of Kingship and *Nauroz* became court festival under Sultans. However, Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur founded Mughal rule in India with the support of his army commanders and soldiers mostly belonging to Irani and Turani backgrounds. Consequently, a large number of Irani and Turani shared political power with the Mughal Emperors and nobility was numerically dominated by these two elements (Irani and Turani). Since the Mughal emperor Babur belong to Ferghana, he encouraged the nobles of Turani and Irani backgrounds to make the consolidation of Mughal rule in North India. More importantly, cultural relations with Iran and Central Asia were also strengthened. It is evident that, besides army commanders and soldiers, Iranis and Turanis were encouraged to come to India and work as craftsmen, literary persons, gunners, sufis, painters, musicians and physicians etc.

The present study finds that Irani and Turani played multiple role in the socio-political life of India. Their presence was realised in most parts of India including Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmednagar. On the basis of the analysis of Iranis and Turanis arrival and their role in India, the following conclusions are drawn.

These Iranis and Turanis came to India from various cities of Iran and Turan such as Gilan, Herat, Mashhad, Qazwin, Shiraz, Tehran, Qandhar, Isfahan, Kashan in Persia and Balkh, Badakhshan, Andijan, Samarqand, Ferghana in Transoxiana in search of better opportunities. Mughal's reputation for generosity and the lure of India's proverbial riches, together with the growing political instability and Uzbek pressure within their homeland were the main factors for the immigration of Iranis and Turanis towards India. Once they came, they were given administrative assignments and *jagirs* in various regions of the Mughal empire, in which they eventually settled. Under Babur, most of his Turani nobles were conferred revenue assignments (*wajh*) in the western part of Babur's empire in Hindustan as Turanis were reluctant to accept assignments in the east due to the fear of Afghans, who were very powerful in the

east. They were assigned places like Mewat, Qanauj, Sirhind, Jaunpur, Gwalior, Alwar, Narnaul, Biana, Bhira, Dipalpur etc. Under Humayun, these Irani and Turani nobles could not settle themselves for a long time in the areas which were assigned to them due to the overthrow of his rule by Sher Shah Suri. It were mostly these Iranis and Turanis who assisted Humayun during his exile period, accompanied him in the reconquest of northern India and played a dominant role in the consolidation as well as expansion of Mughal rule in India under successive Mughal Emperors. Consequently, they received huge dividends in terms of ranks (*mansabs*) and *jagirs* in various parts of the Mughal Empire, in which they eventually settled. Their *mansabs* and size of the *jagirs* show that they had large scope of influencing the socio-political life of sizeable areas and also to adopt various aspects of Indian culture.

It were mostly these Iranis and Turanis who were appointed at the places of strategic importance like North West Frontier and Bengal, for instance the clan of *Atkas* held all their *jagirs* in Punjab; family of Itimad ud Daula was settled at Lahore and Shaista Khan as governor of Bengal, encouraged trade with Europe, South-east Asia and other parts of India and also ordered the construction of many buildings of public importance in the province. They not only administered these areas, but worked for the betterment of the local people, for instance when there was scarcity of rain in the Punjab, then Zain Khan Koka, under the guidance of the *Zamindars* of place, himself put on the dress of cultivators and started ploughing the field with his own hand. Similarly when there was shortage of grain in the Deccan, and the people of Deccan were totally depended on the supply of grain from Malwa, it was Nasiri Khan who ordered the loads of grain to be converted into money. This service (of his) was liked by the people and his position and respect increased further. Sometimes, in order to strengthen their relation with the local chiefs of Mughal India, Iranis and Turanis entered into matrimonial relations with them, for instance Mahabat Khan had married his son to the daughter of Pokharan chief, as a result of which they all submitted to his authority and the royal army which was sent against him by Nur Jahan could not attack him.

Irani and Turani immigrants to India belong to diverse professional background. Nobles were the dominant social group of the Irani and Turani population settled in India. These Irani and Turani nobles managed the political institutions of the Mughal empire on a large scale than other social groups of India. The prominent Iranis and

Turanis in the court of Mughals were- Sayyid Mehdi Khwaja, Nizamuddin Khalifa, Chin Timur Sultan Chaghtai, Sultan Junaid Barlas, Shaikh Zain Khwafi, Pir Quli Sistani under Babur; Ali Quli Khan Shaibani, Bahadur Khan Shaibani, Tardi Beg, Bairam Khan, Munim Khan, Ali Quli Ustad, Wali Beg Zulqadar under Humayun; Shamsuddin Atka, Mirza Aziz Koka, Mirza Shahrukh, Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, Abul Bi Uzbek, Fathulah Shirazi, Abul Qasim Namakin, Ghazi Khan-i-Badakhshi under Akbar; Itimad ud Daula, Asaf Khan, Mahabat Khan, Mirza Rustam Safavi, Lala Beg Baz Bahadur, Payanda Khan, Qulich Khan Mughal under Jahangir; Ali Mardan Khan, Shaista Khan, said Khan, Baqir Khan Najm-i-Sani, Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung, Qulij Khan under Shah Jahan; Mir Jumla, Shaista Khan, Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang, Mahabat Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Tarbiyat Khan Barlas under Aurangzeb. It were these Iranis and Turanis who accompanied early Mughal emperors in their march towards Northern India and played a dominant role in the establishment of Mughal rule in India. Under successive Mughal emperors, they took part in various political campaigns in India leading to the establishment as well as consolidation of Mughal rule in India. Consequently, these Irani and Turani nobles were trusted by the Mughal emperors for the management of political institutions of Mughal India.

Most of the *Shahi Karkhanas* were headed by the nobles of Irani and Turani background. They received the prime posts and ranks in the central administration of the Mughal Empire. For instance, under Akbar, out of 19 nobles who were appointed to the important offices of *Wakil*, *Sadr*, *Mir Bakhshi*, *Hakim*, *Diwan*, 11 were Iranis occupying 57.89 percent and 3 were Turanis occupying 15.79 percent. They enjoyed the highest *mansabs* and high sounding titles, for instance, Khwaja Abul Hasan, who received the title of *Itiqad Khan* and *Asaf Khan* by Jahangir, enjoyed the highest *mansab* of 9000 *zat* and 9000 *sawar* under Shah Jahan. However, there are examples of some Iranis and Turanis indulging in rebellious activities for instance, under Akbar, there were six major rebellions between 1562 and 1567. Out of these, only one was waged by Asaf Khan, an Irani, rest all the revolts were staged by the Turani section of the nobility. Consequently Mughal Emperors get vigilance on their activities and also punish them accordingly. Iranis and Turanis also assisted the Mughal emperors in making diplomatic relations of Mughal India with Iran and Turan. For instance, under Jahangir, Khan Alam was sent to lead an embassy to Persia and his services were so

much liked by the Shah of Persia that he addressed him as his brother and gave him the title of *Jan-i-alam*.

Large number of Iranis and Turanis population in Mughal India consist of scholars, poets, *Sufis*, *darwishes*, painters, musicians, calligraphers, horticulturists, physicians, traders, merchants etc. Though there were some who came, roam and went back to their native country, a large number of them came, settled in different parts of the Mughal Empire in India and found a favourable atmosphere in Mughal India to practice their own culture. Iranis and Turanis were influenced by Indian culture and they adjusted with it. Every aspect of their social life ranging from clothes, food, jewellery, court ceremonies got influenced by the Indian culture. It was Ghazi Khan-i-Badakhshi who introduced *sijdah* in the Mughal court. Some among them designed new dresses and invented perfumery which were of so high quality that they were adopted in their daily life by the Mughal Emperor as well as other sections of the nobility and left a deep impression of the grandeur of Mughal Empire on the common masses. The best manifestation of this is Nur Jahan, who designed *dodami* for dress, *panchtoliya* for veils, *Badla* and *Kinara*. Besides she also designed inexpensive dresses for marriage ceremonies and named it *Nur Mahali*. Her mother Asmat Begum invented perfume called as *Itr-i-Jahangiri*. Thus Iranis and Turanis through their innovations tried to demonstrate their refined taste and set a new trend of fashion in the Mughal court. They not only introduced new recipes, but also a unique way of organising feasts in India. For instance, *Baqar Khani*, a kind of bread mixed with butter and milk, take its name from Baqar Khan *Najm-i-thani*. Iranis like Itimad ud Daula, Asaf Khan, Nur Jahan, Saif Khan were known for the lavishness of feasts organised by them, in which people of different ethnicity and background assembled and shared their food, thus trying to break the alienation through the strength of their unity.

Iranis and Turanis in India participated in educational and agricultural development. For instance, some among them like Fathullah Shirazi and Shah Mansur made indelible contributions for the improvement of education and extension of agriculture. Similarly relation was established between local elements and Iranis and Turanis which proved instrumental in compelling the local elements to join the Mughals, for instance Zain Khan Koka was instrumental in the submission of the rebellious *zamindars* of Himalayas under Akbar. Similarly in 1656, Bahadur Chand, *Zamindar*

of Kumaon, had taken refuge with Khalil Allah Khan and with his assistance arrived at the court of Shah Jahan. Many times, Iranis and Turanis took shelter with the local chiefs for instance, when Mahabat Khan was expelled from the army by Nur Jahan, he came to the country of *Bhils* and twelve thousand *Bhils* professing allegiance to him gave him shelter. In extreme cases, Iranis and Turanis were even murdered by the local chiefs as Bairam Khan was murdered by the Lohani Afghan of the name of Mubarak. Many among them had been employed by the nobles of Indian background and there were some Iranis and Turanis like Itimad ud daula, Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, Ghazi Khan-i-Badakhshi, who gave patronage to poets, scholars and people of Indian background. The existent life of Iranis and Turanis show that they had matrimonial alliances with the Mughal emperors as well as with the nobles of Indian background. However, the most peculiar feature of their matrimonial alliances was that unlike Rajputs, with whom Mughals were not prepared to give the girls from the Mughal ruling house, nor were the Rajputs willing to accept, there are examples of Babur's sister Khanzada Begum and Akbar's sister Bakhshi Bano Begum being given in marriage to Irani and Turani nobles. Thus these matrimonial alliances helped to maintain cultural diversity within their families and helped to legitimise their social position in the Indian society.

The Iranis and Turanis were very much visible in the socio-economic life of Mughal Empire. Like other sections of nobility, they too were living a life of great ostentation and luxury. Their standard of living was directly proportional to their political and economic position within the Mughal Empire. They had built multi-storeyed mansions and had maintained huge harems. For instance nobles like Khwaja Jahan Kabuli, Khwaja Waisi and Itiqad Khan were known for the foundation of mansions of a new pattern in Akbarabad, however, on the contrary, there were some nobles like Mahabat Khan, who despite their high political rank were living a simple life. These Iranis and Turanis were enjoying princely favours and the best example is *Yamin ud Daula* Asaf Khan who had a gross pay of sixteen crores and twenty lacs of *Dams* under Shahjahan. Besides, they used their socio-economic clout to rise in the political hierarchy and sometimes their social relations with the Mughal emperor helped them to act as King-maker. The best manifestation of this is the family of Nur Jahan as after her marriage with Jahangir, all her relations and connections were raised to honour and wealth. Thus their presence was realized through their socio-economic activities,

public works and their interaction with the Indians. They also received social appreciation because of their involvement in the extension of charities and other welfare measures as they constructed *serais*, mosques, canals, bridges for the welfare of general masses.

These Iranis and Turanis made impact on each and every aspect of social life of Mughal India i.e. literature, paintings, architecture, music. For instance Irani and Turani master painters at the Mughal court like Dost Musawwir, Maulana Yusuf, Maulana Dervish Muhammad, Mir Mansur, Mir Sayyid Ali, Khwaja Abd-al-Samad, Aqa Riza, Abul Hasan and Ustad Mansur along with the Indian painters contributed to the amalgamation of Persian and Indian artistic traditions, thus leading to the evolution of Mughal school of painting. In literary activities too, their contribution is immense as the prominent Irani and Turani scholars like Shaikh Zain Khwafi, Khwandmir, Mir Abdul Hayee, Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini, Mir Abdullah, Qazi Nurullah Shushtari, Shah Fathullah Shirazi, Ghazli, Urfi, Naziri, Zahuri made indelible contributions to the evolution of Persian language and literature. In the field of music too, Irani and Turani musicians like Usta Dost of Mashhad, Tash Beg of Qipchaq, Pirzada of Khurasan, Hafiz Nazr from Transoxiana and many others who along with the Indian musicians enriched the Indian music with their significant contributions.

In the field of medicine, Irani and Turani physicians were held in high esteem in the Mughal court, for instance Khwaja Khawand Mahmud of Samarqand under Babur, Hakim Abdul Fateh along with his two brothers, Hakim Humam and Hakim Fateh Nur-ud-Din, Hakim Misri, Hakim Masihul Mulk Shirazi, Hakim Lutfullah Gilani, Hakim Ali under Akbar, Hakim Saif-ul-Mulk Lang, Feyez-i-Gilani, Qasim Deylami under Jahangir; Hakim Fatehullllah Gilani under Shah Jahan; and Shams-ud-Din were the prominent physicians at the Mughal court. Their services were so much recognised that some among them were bestowed with high sounding titles, for instance Hakim Sadra was honoured with the title of *Masihul-z-zaman* by Jahangir and Hakim Saif-ul-Mulk Lang got the nick-name of *Saif-ul-Hukama* (sword of physicians).

As there was congenial atmosphere for the trade and commerce between India, Persia and Central Asia, Irani and Turani traders too came to India for trading

purposes and many among them took service under the Mughal emperors and the best manifestation of this is Mir Jumla and his son Muhammad Amin Khan. There were many Iranis like Abdur Rahim Khan-Khanan, Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, Shaista Khan who owned ships and took part in trading activities, thus influencing the economic activities of Mughal India. In the field of architecture, Irani and Turani architects like Ustad Mir Mirak Ghiyas of Herat, Ustad Shah Muhammad of Khurasan, Amanat Khan Shirazi, Ustad Isa played a significant role in erecting the beautiful master pieces of architecture in Mughal India. There were some Irani and Turani nobles like Munim Khan, Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*, Asaf Khan, Ali Mardan khan, Zafar Khan, Shaista Khan who engaged themselves in building activities like tombs, *hamams*, gardens, beautiful palaces, *serais*, bridges etc, thus influencing the architectural traditions of Mughal India. Besides these, Irani and Turani horticulturists, calligraphers, expert weavers made indellible contributions in influencing the socio-economic life of Mughal India and thus lead Indian society towards a composite Indo-Persian culture.

GLOSSARY

<i>Adl</i>	Justice
<i>Ahl-i-qalam</i>	a scribe
<i>Amil</i>	Revenue collector
<i>Ataliq</i>	Guardian
<i>Beg</i>	Noble
<i>Dahsala</i>	Revenue Settlement based on assessment of ten (dah) years revenue.
<i>Diwan</i>	Chief financial officer
<i>Du-aspa Sih-aspa</i>	A technical term meaning twice the number of sawars entertained otherwise.
<i>Farman</i>	a royal order
<i>Farr-i-izadi</i>	Divine light communicated to ideal rulers.
<i>Hakim</i>	A governor, a commander
<i>Hakim</i>	A Physician,
<i>Hamam</i>	Room for bath of hot and cold water.
<i>Ilm-e-Jafar</i>	Witchcraft
<i>Inam</i>	gift; benefaction; land held free of revenue on at low rates of revenue.
<i>Jagir</i>	income from a piece of land assigned to officers by the ruler
<i>Jagirdar</i>	holder of a Jagir
<i>Karkhanas</i>	Royal Factories on enterprises for producing on collecting commodities required by the state.
<i>Khanazad</i>	One born in the house, old (Turkish) employees.
<i>Khanqahs</i>	a house of mystics but more commodious than the jama'at khawa.
<i>Khanyagaran</i>	singers

<i>Madad-i-Ma'ash</i>	assignment of revenue by the government for the support of learned or religious persons, or benevolent institutions.
<i>Madrasa</i>	an educational institution.
<i>Mahawara-un-Nahar</i>	Transoxiana
<i>Malik us Shauara</i>	Poet laureate
<i>Mansab</i>	military rank conferred by the Mughal government.
<i>Mansabdar</i>	holder of a mansab
<i>Muljk-mukhtar</i>	Royal agent
<i>Nadir-ul-Asr</i>	Wonder of time
<i>Nadir-ul-zaman</i>	Wonder of Age
<i>Nawab</i>	Viceroy, governor, title of rank
<i>Nazrana</i>	gift, usually from inferior to Superior, forced contribution
<i>Paramnaram</i>	very soft
<i>Pulao</i>	fried rice cooked with meat
<i>Peskash</i>	Tribute from Sub ordinate rulers
<i>Peshwa</i>	Prime minister
<i>Qushci</i>	Falconer
<i>Sajjadas</i>	Spiritual successors
<i>Sayurghal</i>	Rent-free Land.
<i>Shariat</i>	Muslim Religious Law
<i>Sijdah</i>	Prostration, theoretically before God.
<i>Sufis</i>	mystics
<i>Tasawwuf</i>	Mysticism
<i>Tauhid</i>	Unity of God
<i>Wahdat-al-Wajud</i>	Unity of God and the beings

<i>Wajh</i>	Money, Salary
<i>Wajhdar</i>	a Salaried officer
<i>Wali</i>	Governor, guardian
<i>Yassa</i>	Regulations on Code book of Chingiz.

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